Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-047
Tuesday
10 March 1992

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Yugoslavia

International—TANJUG reports that the peace conference in Brussels sponsored by the EC ended without the signing of a document on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The intended document focused on "the internal system" of the republic and was proposed by Portuguese diplomat Jose Cutileiro, who also chaired the conference. Cutileiro contended that "considerable progress" had been made but many issues needed "to be coordinated." Leaders of the three constituent peoples disagree mainly on who will take over the sovereignty of the state. "The talks will continue in Sarajevo probably next week" announced Cutileiro.

Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbia headed the Serbian delegation to the plenary session of the conference on behalf of President Slobodan Milosevic who had been "slightly injured" in a car accident. In his address to the conference, Jovanovic issued several demands focusing on restablishing the infrastructure and transportation links within the republics. Also included in the demands were guarantees "for refugees to return" and resolve their "economic status."

Zagreb radio reports that Bosnia's Alija Izetbegovic, the chairman of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), told reporters at Sarajevo Airport upon his return that "the latest EC proposal envisages an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina consisting of national regions." Iztebegovic said he was "not quite satisfied with that proposal" and the SDA would not be satisfied either.

Bosnia-Hercegovina—Sarajevo radio reports that all assets of Sarajevo Radio and Television have been frozen "because of its inability to pay foreign creditors for loans" amounting to "about 82 million dinars." In an effort to raise revenue, employees have gone on strike and demanded that "the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina provide free and unconditional aid of 82 million dinars for the organization's accounts to be unblocked, 100 million dinars for the payment of the pay increase, 46 million dinars for bonuses, and 28 million dinars for the payment of regular incomes for February."

Poland

A spokesman said that the Polish and Russian figures on the numbers of "weapons, material and technical stores" of the former Soviet Armed Forces withdrawn from Poland are "at variance," Warsaw radio reports. The Russian side reports "figures...that are larger than the information of the Polish side" for the amount of "troops and equipment" withdrawn from Poland. The Polish side has "not received a timetable for the evacuation" of the remaining former Soviet forces, but the spokesman said "everything was...on the right track" for conclusion of the withdrawal by 15 November as stipulated in the agreement with Russia.

Hungary

Slovenian Defense Minister Janez Jansa is in Budapest for talks with his counterpart Lajos Fur, Budapest radio reports. Jansa said Hungary is the "first neighboring country" with which Slovenia intends to conclude a "bilateral military agreement." On his part, Fur said "the topic of arms sales had not even been raised" in their talks, and that bilateral relations could be strengthened through the exchange of military experts and military attaches, and through sports and cultural exchanges.

Opposition Leader Confident of Election Victory

AU0903145192 Vienna PROFIL in German 9 Mar 92 p 55

[Interview with Sali Berisha, chairman of the Albanian Democratic Party, by Gudrun Maria Leb in Tirana; date not given: "Human Rights Without Food"]

[Text] [Leb] Mr. Berisha, the Democratic Party is one year old now. What have you achieved?

[Berisha] Officially, our party was indeed founded one year ago. In fact, however, it is much older because the party has existed in the minds of the Albanians for many years. For this reason, we will be Albania's strongest political force in about one month's time. I know that the situation is difficult, but we still have achieved a great deal during the past year. We have been granted fundamental human rights—freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and religious freedom. It has become possible for Albanians to organize themselves and to acquire property. I believe that we have been very successful in this respect. We made the regime open the doors politically. This means that we have led Albania out of its isolation. Our country has established relations with all European countries and with numerous democratic institutions.

[Leb] But people have no jobs and nothing to eat.

[Berisha] Well, to have peace is one thing, but prosperity is also needed. Prosperity is one of the bases of democracy. To achieve that, we want to give priority to the following three measures: First we must ensure calm and order. Then we must improve the productivity of agriculture. Albania is the only agricultural state in Europe where the majority of the people live in the country. Finally, we must exploit our mineral resources and start production.

[Leb] Your party is an offspring of the revolution. It was founded during a students' demonstration in Tirana. Do you think that the students still support you in elections?

[Berisha] The students? I believe that they were and still are the pioneers of the democratic movement in Albania. The majority of the students support the Democratic Party. The Albanians are free to chose among different parties. We are not jealous at all. Numerous students back the Socialist Party. I am not unhappy about that because I know that they advocate truly socialist ideals that already exist in Eastern and Western Europe. I am not against that. The students are progressive.

[Leb] Mr. Berisha, people trust and love you. Are you not afraid of disappointing their expectations?

[Berisha] I am not afraid of disappointing the hopes of the people because every day I am making an effort to fulfill their hopes. I have never promised people paradise. I am fighting as an intellectual in the front line against the difficult situation, and I can rely on the help of numerous people. I am no pessimist. Our party is a party of ideals, and I am convinced that tomorrow, after our victory, our program will turn out to be the best instrument for overcoming the crisis.

[Leb] Who will win the elections?

[Berisha] We will; we will certainly win the elections.

Democratic Party's Berisha Holds Rally in Kucove

AU0903211892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Several thousand inhabitants of Kucove took part in a rally organized in the town's main square. Mr. Sali Berisha, chairman of the Democratic Party [PD], spoke first and presented Mr. Perikli Teta as the PD parliamentary candidate for this constituency.

In his speech, which was received with shouts of freedom, democracy, and democracy will win, Mr. Sali Berisha said that the revolt of your sons in Kucove Stadium five years ago was the first heavy blow that the Albanian democrats dealt to the single-party regime. However, their dream came true only when the PD appeared on the stage. We succeeded in liberating Kucove [formerly Qytet Stalin] and Perondi from the dictators' names only with struggle and joint efforts. We are confident that you will banish their shadows from this constituency with your free vote on 22 March. Lies and truth confront each other in Albania today. The Party of Labor deceived, lied to, and terrorized the Albanian people for half a century. It is very painful that the Socialist Party is resorting to the same methods today in its savage electoral campaign. The forces of the old regime organized the shameful scenario of looting, plunder, and crime during this campaign. This scenario is a continuation and variant of last year's scenario of exoduses, counter-rallies, and Enverist gatherings. It aims to destabilize the country and to ruin Albania's reputation abroad.

There are many servicemen in your town, Berisha continued. I am confident that they will vote for the PD, and I appeal to them to not forget the sufferings and sacrifices of themselves, their friends, and of soldiers and their families during the dictatorial regime. I am convinced that our servicemen realize that the reform that has already begun in the Army, the return of ranks, the changes in servicemen's status, and the reduction of military service are achievements of the Albanian opposition. These are only the first steps toward creating a national and democratic Army, worthy of the flag of Skenderbeg.

We here before you, Mr. Berisha then stressed, must assure you and the whole Albanian people that we will respect the outcome of the elections and honor the free vote. We also assure the oil workers that the exploitation of their labor will end once and for all. They will be paid what they earn, meaning they will enrich themselves, their families, and the entire country.

PD Calls for Investigation of Arson in Kamez

AU0803201692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] A statement by the Democratic Party's [PD] Tirana Branch declares that the Kamez Agricultural Enterprise's office was set on fire at about 1300 on 7 March, distressing all the employees and citizens of Kamez. The PD's section in Kamez draws attention to the fact that the fire was intentional. The fire was lit in the management office, which contains all the documents revealing major financial frauds to which the PD's section in Kamez has long been pointing. The fire was set only a few hours after an investigation team charged with exposing these frauds left the Kamez Agricultural Enterprise. The PD's section in Kamez has insisted on the punishment of the authors of the thefts and abuses committed at the farm. As soon as the inspection began at the PD's insistence, the building and the documents were set on fire. It is the same scenario as elsewhere, where plunder or arson have followed after looting and theft committed by those in power.

The PD's Tirana branch, concerned about the upsetting events that have happened in several districts of Albania, appeals to the people of Tirana to dissociate themselves from every act of violence and looting, in order not to fall prey to the ominous scorched-earth policy that the forces in power are preparing even in the region of Tirana. The PD's Tirana branch urgently asks that the forces of order and the investigators take all the measures to prevent any violation of the law in our district, and asks for the instigators and authors of these major crimes to be called to account.

The PD branch appeals to the people not to allow those communist or socialist forces to incite passions and spoil the atmosphere of the electoral campaign. The time of the victory of democracy in free democratic elections is very near.

Social Democratic Party Appeals to Government

AU0703151292 Tirana ATA in English 1304 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA) — In its issue of March 6, the newspaper "ALTERNATIVA SD" carries an appeal of the Albanian Social Democratic Party addressed to the government .

The Albanian Social Democratic Party, says the appeal, aware of the very difficult situation the Albanian countryside is in, immediately demands from the government to decide the abolishment of long and short term credits. After land distribution, the loosening of prices of mechanical means, according to an arbitrary decision of the Ministry of Agriculture and Socialist Minister Nexhmedin Dumani, the Albanian peasant remains without economic support, with no financial means. In order to assist in this first step the Social Democratic Party demands from the government to help the Albanian peasant, abolishing the aforesaid credits .

The Social Democratic Party is convinced that the Albanian Government will take into consideration this request, in order not to augment the misery and not intensify the pain of our impoverished peasant, the appeal says in conclusion.

Martanesh DP Demands Honor for Shehu's Victims

AU0903182692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] The horror and pain caused by the terror that Mehmet Shehu, the former First Attack Brigade's commander, committed on the people of Martanesh in 1944 has remained vivid in the memory of this region. He barbarously killed 22 innocent men from Martanesh, thus committing a fascist-type massacre. The Democratic Party's [PD] District Branch, after examining the documents and the evidence about this massacre in detail, and also considering the opinion of the Martanesh people, appealed to the Ministry of Justice to declare them national martyrs.

A rally on the reburial of Tahir Mata, democratic patriot massacred by the communist regime of Enver Hoxha, was held in the village of Barbullej in the Derjan region on Thursday. Hundreds of inhabitants from the region of Derjan honorably escorted his corpse for reburial next to his family's graves. It was really a touching scene, in which many villagers, families, and martyr's relatives could not find words to express the happiness of this indelible day for them and for all the people of the region.

BASHKIMI Notes Former Party Leaders' Trial

AU0803144492 Tirana ATA in English 1103 GMT 8 Mar 92

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Tirana, March 8 (ATA)—The newspaper "BASHKIMI" reports that the preparatory sitting of the former party leaders' trial was held on March 4, and concretely regarding the penal case of the accused Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, and others and that the case was sent back to the General Investigation Office for inquiry complements.

Defense Minister Assesses Security Situation

AU0903200892 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] At a news conference today, Dimitur Ludzhev, minister of defense, announced the forthcoming publication of a document entitled *The 100 Days of the Ministry of Defense.*

Minister Ludzhev declared that the text of the document contains all facts related to the activities of the Ministry of Denfense over the last three months.

There is no real threat of war within the forthcoming three or four years, either on a global or on a regional scale, the minister of defense pointed out. This applies even less to a bilateral armed conflict, he added. The statement is part of the concept on national security based on a thorough analysis of Bulgaria's foreign political situation, Minister Ludzhev stated.

According to him, destabilizing elements exist only along our Western borders. In this connection Minister Ludzhev announced that he has sent a letter to the Serbian defense minister urging him to engage in a discussion on security measures along our common borders as soon as possibly.

Minister Ludzhev did not fail to mention the subject of the personal files. They are concocted by a network of agents belonging to the economic Mafia, as Mr. Ludzhev expressed himself, which does not belong to the current official Bulgarian secret services.

Our National Security Service is one of the most thoroughly reformed institutions. It is working with real efficiency, Minister Dimitur Ludzhev declared at his news conference.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Tour of Balkans

AU1003101292 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 29 Feb 92 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Stoyan Ganev, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, by Martin Minkov in Skopje; date not given: "A Position of the Future"]

[Text] [Minkov] Mr. Ganev, this interview is taking place at the end of a very intensive week, a week that was eventful and rather difficult. It began in Bucharest, where you had talks and outlined some ideas, which were also discussed in Belgrade.

[Ganev] The beginning was in Bucharest. It was very positive for both Bulgaria and Romania, and also for the Balkan policy in the upcoming months, because in Bucharest the idea of developing a Helsinki process in the Balkans as soon as the Yugoslav conflict is resolved was proposed and supported.

[Minkov] I think that precisely your visit to Belgrade was one of the elements in this idea, let us call it an idea for Balkan security, being asserted.

[Ganev] The basic fact was that at those meetings we discussed for the first time in a specific and detailed way the possibility of developing relations in all spheres between Bulgaria and Serbia. As far as I know, this was the first meeting between the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Serbia since World War II. I am not the only one who met with the Serbian leaders. Activity can be observed on the part of many countries. Bulgaria cannot lag behind. Bulgaria must foresee how important Serbia will be for us in the future.

[Minkov] Certain stereotypes of the period of totalitarianism, which in the past engulfed the whole of Eastern Europe, are still alive in Serbia. Personally, I think that the pace of the change in Bulgaria and Serbia is different. Did you sense this in your talks?

[Ganev] I believe that, despite the fact that one does not clearly sense the changes that are taking place in Serbia, those changes are nevertheless taking place. The Serbian authorities have already shown greater pragmatism and are taking note of all the realities, not just some of them. Personally, I was very much impressed by this. At the same time, the democratic process in Serbia will accelerate, because the country cannot be isolated from the comprehensive democratic process in Europe.

[Minkov] Noting the realities, including the fact that this interview is taking place in Skopje, how do you assess your visit here?

[Ganev] I can definitely say that I am satisfied with the visit, because it has given me an opportunity to exchange opinions in an open atmosphere. I can say that the attitude toward our state began to change when Bulgaria demonstrated a principled policy toward the Republic of Macedonia with its decision to recognize the republic. At the same time, in the Republic of Macedonia there still are circles, including journalists, especially in NOVA MAKEDONIJA, who, regardless of how undiplomatic this might sound, are seeking new enemies. They cannot live without enemies. I also had talks with representatives of the opposition press and I can say that the cardboard stereotypes about Bulgaria that the communist and neocommunist nomenklatura in the Republic of Macedonia constructed have not yet been destroyed.

[Minkov] Did you discuss the issue of establishing diplomatic relations?

[Ganev] This issue was raised by the leadership of the Republic of Macedonia. I presented our well-known position and explained that we favored seeking a universal and final solution to the recognition issue within the framework of the EC and a final and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis through the efforts of the United Nations with the active participation of countries such as the United States. We cannot be isolated from this process. So far we have achieved a lot.

The time is coming when the so-called Macedonian issue must finally be resolved. This issue cannot be left open forever. It will be resolved, just as dozens of other

seemingly intractable problems were resolved. They were resolved because the realities in the world, and more specifically in Europe, changed. The Macedonian problem will be no different. The entity that is now called the Republic of Macedonia can gradually become an integral member of Europe through the establishment of an independent Republic of Macedonia, literally independent and free in its behavior, and committed to democratic values and the criteria of European thinking. Then many other problems will disappear, because in a united Europe borders will become a token formality. The more the integration and European process develop the more the Macedonian problem will fade away and finally disappear. However, Bulgaria will go down in Balkan and European history as having assumed a position that belongs to the future. It was an act of courage to assume this position, considering that it involved certain risks in terms of Bulgaria's international situation. This was positively assessed by many countries with which I have had contacts in recent months.

Balkan Helsinki Charter Needed

AU1003125192 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 4 Mar 92 pp 1,5

[Interview with Stoyan Ganev, minister of foreign affairs, by Elena Lyubenova; place and date not given: "The Balkans Are Thorn in Side of Europe"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lyubenova] Who will conduct negotiations for Bulgaria's integration into Europe? Has a special organization already been set up to deal with this?

[Ganev] I believe that in practice we are already in a situation in which we can begin talks on Bulgaria's association. In the near future I shall submit a mandate to the Council of Ministers for negotiations with the EC. However, this is also tied in with the respective ministries and other departments involved fulfilling their obligations and being ready with the specific elements of the mandate related to their spheres. In this particular case, I, as minister of foreign affairs, am coordinating all the efforts of the other ministries and departments. [passage omitted]

[Lyubenova] You made a tour of the Balkans. What place do the Balkans have in Europe?

[Ganev] I am very unlikely to be making a revelation if I say that the Balkans are a thorn in the side of Europe, one of Europe's biggest problems. What is happening at the moment in the Balkans could create enormous dangers for the future of Europe. This is why the EC is giving so much attention to resolving this problem. My task, when visiting certain of the Balkan capitals, was to propose things that are specific elements of what I term the European policy of the Balkans, things that could turn Bulgaria into one of the stabilizing factors of the peninsula. We clearly stated that we want to conduct a policy free of Balkanism and with no traces of the Balkan mentality of historicism.

[Lyubenova] How was the idea of a "Balkan Helsinki" received?

[Ganev] This is one idea in the process of development. We are formulating the principle. However, later on during the development of the Balkan process itself and Europe's development this idea as a whole will also take shape. This idea was accepted in Romania and in the next few days we expect the arrival of an expert group in Sofia to work together with our specialists on the details of the Balkan "Helsinki" process by calling a Balkan Forum. By this I am speaking about adapting the new realities of the Balkans to the principles and ideas of Helsinki, of the "Helsinki process." The very fact that new realities exist means that they must be brought under the common denominator of the so-called "Helsinki process."

This is why we believe that it is imperative to hold a conference where these new principles can be laid down or, more precisely, the mutual relations that exist between countries under the changed realities can be stated. In addition a charter needs to be adopted that regulates the existing borders in the Balkans and that categorically rejects any form of territorial claims or ambitions towards any of the Balkan countries. Moreover these new channels for mutual relations need to be developed to turn this Helsinki process into a mechanism, an institution with its respective organs. From here onwards the question is one of adhering strictly to the principles laid down in the charter and the most important matter is to seek ways and means of accelerating the Balkans' integration into Europe. This is because it is necessary not only for Bulgaria but for the Balkans as a whole that the status of the region is raised to one of a fully participating member in European political, economic, and spiritual life.

Dimitrov Notes Attempt Against Pope in U.S.

AU0903194392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Mar 92 p 3

[DUMA PRESS report: "Prime Minister Dimitrov Again Involves Bulgaria in Attempt Against Pope"]

[Text] According to sources in the Bulgarian delegation, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, who is on a 10-day working visit to the United States, has stated that he has information that the Bulgarian "Kintex" Company continues to employ people who have been involved in smuggling weapons, Asen Agov, the special correspondent of Bulgarian Television, reported. Prime Minister Dimitrov will request the cooperation of the U.S. judicial authorities in fully revealing the machinations and speculations of Bulgaria's previous regime.

The prime minister has clearly been assured that the U.S. Administration will support Bulgaria's efforts to restore its economy and assert its place in the Balkans.

At the National Press Club Prime Minister Dimitrov declared that the lack of documented evidence does not

exclude the possibility of Bulgarian involvement in the attempt against the pope, Bulgarian Television reported.

Late on the night of 3 March Filip Dimitrov will be received by President Bush. The meeting will be attended by James Baker, secretary of state, and Brent Scrowcroft, national security adviser to the President. Afterward Filip Dimitrov will be interviewed by CNN.

President Zhelev Opposes Decommunization Bill

AU0903182892 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—At his meeting with the three rapporteurs on Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe President Zhelyu Zhelev spoke against the decommunization bill, the spokesman for the president told BTA. "Decommunization should not involve a restriction of people's right to take part in political life," Dr. Zhelev, ex-dissident and ex-leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] pointed out.

Two decommunization bills have been submitted to parliament. They were both drafted by MP's of the SDS. One of them concerns only the highest echelon of the former communist regime, the other concerns local party functionaries as well. The still unpublished Banks and Lending Act, which was passed on March 4, also dealt a blow on former high-ranking Communists and Secret Service employees. After today's statement of the president, he is expected to impose a suspensive veto on that act.

Dr. Zhelev believes that decommunization should be carried out through the reform in which former communists are also taking part. In the president's opinion, the larger part of the SDS realizes this is the proper way of decommunization, the spokesman explained. Dr. Zhelev also believes that this approach will become dominant in Bulgarian political life as it simply has no alternative.

The president is against decommunization that would restrict individuals. "Culprits, however, will have to bear their responsibility," he pointed out.

SDS Leadership, Zhelev To Meet Regularly

AU1003133192 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Mar 92 p 1

[Neven Kopandanova report: "The Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council Intends To Hold Regular Meetings With the President"]

[Text] The first of the regular meetings between President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] National Coordinating Council is scheduled for Friday, 6 March. At its extraordinary meeting yesterday, 4 March, the SDS National Coordinating Council decided that it was necessary for representatives of the SDS National Coordinating Council and the SDS Parliamentary Group to meet with Dr. Zhelev at least twice a week.

The discussion at the meeting was devoted to internal mutual relations among the three SDS political power strongholds, namely the National Coordinating Council, as a political organ, the Parliamentary Group, as a legislative organ, and the president as the institution that exercises the functions of head of state. It was decided that the recent conflict situations should be attributed to the lack of such regular contacts.

As a matter of fact, there is no conflict between the SDS and the president. This was the opinion of the representatives of various SDS member parties. Among the factors causing conflict, differences in opinions on basic questions of principle shortcomings and internal contradictions within the Constitution were cited. Such controversial stands inevitably emerge in a country with an imperfect Constitution, a country on its way to democracy. The Bulgarian Constitution stipulates that the president is responsible for his own actions, while at the same time he is expected to be in charge of several important institutions. If a conflict really does exist, it is not among the aforementioned SDS power strongholds, but it stems from the Constitution itself. This is something for which we should once more blame the authors of the Constitution, who placed a ticking time-bomb among its articles and paragraphs.

The idea of subordinating the various intelligence services to one institution (at this time these services are not only numerous but also subordinate to two different institutions—some of them belong to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, while others are serving under the president) did not emerge as a result of the recent affair of forged personal files. This is the long-standing view of the SDS and at this very moment it found an appropriate opportunity for its implementation. The question was bound to come up sooner or later, but current events simply anticipated discussion of it. Nevertheless, before adopting any decision on the subject, the matter should be discussed with the president, it was pointed out at the meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council.

The SDS plays the role of stabilizing factor. This was also stated at the meeting of the SDS National Coordinating Council. The efforts of the ruling coalition should continue to focus on maintaining peace and stability in the country, the participants in the meeting pointed out.

Vulkanov Sees Zhelev on DUMA Seizure

AU0603214492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] The presidential press center informed BTA that today President Zhelyu Zhelev received National Assembly member Velko Vulkanov at his request. Vulkanov informed the president that, as a representative of the Committee on Human Rights, he had received a letter from Stefan Prodev [editor of DUMA] in connection with the order issued by Finance Minister Ivan Kostov for the state to take over the DUMA Publishing House. The president stated that the issue raised by Vulkanov lay within the authority of the executive

power. As is well-known, under the law an appeal may be lodged with the court against any order issued by the minister of finance.

BSP Protests Nationalization

AU1003102892 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Mar 92 p 1

["Assessment and Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party": "A Call for Justice"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] greets with surprise and indignation the orders of Finance Minister Ivan Kostov to nationalize the "DUMA," "Vest," and "Khristo Botev" publishing houses and confiscate their property. The orders are being prepared now.

The BSP Supreme Council views these orders as a biased interpretation of the Law on Confiscating Property and a crude violation of the Law on Political Parties, which allows political organizations in the country to publish and be engaged in economic activity.

The BSP Supreme Council is convinced that by nationalizing the aforementioned publishing houses, and especially the DUMA Publishing House a blow is directed against freedom of speech and of the press in Bulgaria. This is a repressive act worthy of the habits and morals of a different time. The ambition to establish a new dictatorship is apparent.

The BSP Supreme Council raises its voice in support of the threatened publishing houses and calls upon all true democrats to publicly condemn the illegal acts of Minister Kostov. All three publishing houses are profitable, and thus financially independent of both the BSP and the state.

In the view of the BSP Supreme Council, the terror through legal orders conducted against "DUMA," "Vest," and "Khristo Botev" is an act of economic marauding and political oppression with respect to the parliamentary opposition and its right to publish. The oppression against those powerful and popular publishing houses is an act of oppression against the entire Bulgarian culture. If it is not condemned and stopped tomorrow, it could spread to the entire opposition press.

The BSP Supreme Council is especially concerned with the attempt against the "DUMA" Publishing House. This publishing house publishes Bulgaria's most popular and authoritative political daily. Since the 13 October 1991 elections DUMA has ever more clearly become the tribune of all social forces in the country that disagree with the policy and actions of the dark blue government. This gives DUMA national importance. In this context, the nationalization of the newspaper will be a crude act of aggression against the rights of a free and independent press.

The BSP Supreme Council views the economic repression against the "DUMA" Publishing House and DUMA as an act of political intolerance. The ostensibly legal action against the newspaper will paralyze not only the independent forces of contemporary Bulgarian journalism, but also our entire political life. This could render the action against DUMA a crime that will inflict irreparable damage on the young Bulgarian democracy.

The BSP Supreme Council especially appeals to President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and asks him to use the opportunities he has as head of state to block this unconstitutional attack against DUMA and the other opposition publications. The annihilation and death of DUMA could become a permanent stain on Dr. Zhelev's activity as a statesman. It is therefore more than imperative that he intervene here.

The BSP Supreme Council believes that its appeal will be heard and that the attack on DUMA and the BSP's entire publishing activity will be blocked. There is still as chance that prudence will prevail and that today's statesmen will understand their great responsibility. Otherwise our public will witness a shameful inhuman act that will deeply injure the ideal of democracy.

Citizens and friends, hear our appeal, and think about it!

The BSP Supreme Council.

Situation Seen 'Going From Bad to Worse'

AU0503142492 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Feb 92 pp 1,3

[Plamen Kamenov article: "What Is the Price of the Coalition Between the Union of Democratic Forces and the Rights and Freedoms Movement, Though This Is A Matter of Secondary Importance Today"]

[Text] All the noisy propaganda concerning all sorts of conspiracies, disgracing files, blows below the belt, and other sensations presumably stem from the fact that the ruling coalition never disclosed the price paid for its existence. The iron-strong support of Ahmed Dogan's party has not subsided. On the other hand, the attempts of the centenary modern left-wing party, namely of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], to play it last winning card, namely the nationalist issue, have not subsided either. (The party in question actually seems to have forgotten the fierce spirit of internationalism professed by its predecessor!). In view of the unpleasant memories evoked by 500 years of Ottoman oppression, on the one hand, and the fact that nationalism is a natural state of mind, on the other hand, everything seems to work out in this respect. The ultimate question: What did the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] give in exchange for the support of the Movement For Rights and Freedoms [DPS] was finally posed even within the "dark blue" inner circle. There is even more: Some winged phrases reached us from the president's office stating that if there is something, there is nothing behind it (related to the rumors about "coup conspiracies"), but nevertheless, something is cooking (especially as regards the Stoyan [Ganev]-Dogan deal.

All this is not a joke. The only sensible response to the aforementioned question is that the coalition relies on the solid basis of anticommunism and is expected to survive as long as communism has not finally disappeared. A little problem, however, still persists in this connection, namely the existence of numerous former active Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] members in both coalition formations, which confuses the minds and provides sufficient ground for sinister warnings from the pinkish corner, that a new "dark blue" totalitarianism is under way.

The internal conflicts within the Bulgarian Orthodox Patriarch's Office and the Muslim Mufti's Office related to the fact that both holy offices may turn out to have been the celestial branches of the State Security certainly do not add to a better solution of the problem. The two trade union leaderships are not very helpful either: The Podkrepa Labor Confederation is busy with recruiting new members for its rather scarce rank and file masses by sending instructions to the DPS electorate through the channels of its local organizations, while the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] has adopted a wait and see position with the intention of expressing its view at a later date.

In the meantime our economy is surviving by a miracle. Two years and four months after 10 November 1989 we already have the third government, which is dismantling the system, while the state still owns 95 percent of the property. According to dear old Uncle Marx, a situation as it exists in our country today would be likely to produce the capitalism that is diametrically opposed to capitalism, namely the one under which we have been stagnating for almost half a century. Hyperinflation is still restrained by secret maneuvers, but the dollar is gathering momentum. If it should reach as much as 50 leva (for it may even exceed this limit), then everything is lost!

The unemployment rate is growing in our country at a pace that might earn us a citation in the Guiness Book of Records—one working citizen is expected to support two unemployed people. Reporters are still reticent—they have abstained from publishing pictures in the newspapers showing how some of our compatriots are searching through the waste bins for something edible. Hunger has already become a part of everyday life for an increasing number of people in our country.

The wise old men of the BSP correctly guessed that people of this sort react to some of the "ideas" expressed by the DPS like bulls to a red flag. (For your information: The Kurdzhali municipal administration does not celebrate the 119th anniversary of national hero Vasil Levski's hanging, while several Bulgarian names of villages have been replaced by Turkish names....)

Things are going from bad to worse and the danger that we may repeat the terrifying examples of Yugoslavia and Romania is becoming increasingly real. If this should happen it will be little comfort for us to know that the events are prompted by political and economic reasons rather than based on ethnic problems....

If I were prime minister I would appear on television and tell the nation: "Folks, do not worry about who is governing you and how you are governed! Governments come and go, but you are here to stay. Bulgaria is a small country, but there is enough room for all those who love it. Let us be more concerned about Bulgaria, rather than about ourselves."

I am not the prime minister, and I would not like to be one, but I can express my opinion, can I not? It is not so much the price of the SDS-DPS coalition that counts today, it is the survival of our state that we should be concerned about! Everything else is the devil's work....

Havel Against Upcoming Slovak Celebration

LD0903181592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Report by Alena Millerova on news brief with President Vaclav Havel in Prague Castle on 9 March—recorded in Czech]

[Excerpts] President Vaclav Havel took part in a regular press briefing in Prague Castle today. Alena Millerova reports:

[Millerova] [passage omitted] The president gave his views on the celebrations of the founding of the Slovak state and on the tension surrounding Czechoslovakia's constitutional setup:

[Havel] Of course, it depends on their content, course, and impact. Generally I can say only that I do not welcome this kind of celebration. Even if they have the best possible content, course, and impact nobody can avoid the feeling that this is some kind of glorification of the regime which existed in the Slovak Republic during the war. This time I am not going to be in Bratislava on that date and thus there is no danger of me appearing at that demonstration, I think I am going to be in Bratislava a week later.

As far as Czech-Slovak relations are concerned, in fact they have been tense for some time now. The tension is sometimes bigger and sometimes smaller, it runs in waves and has different forms. Despite this I think it is an over-simplification to say that this is tension between the two nations. This is tension between political representatives and, let us say, a part of our public. [passage omitted]

[Millerova] Vaclav Havel also spoke about the necessity of changing—at least through an amendment—the method of electing a president. In this context he said that the most important prerequisite for him to accept candidature for this post for the third time is a consensus among the political parties on choosing him. He will take the final decision once the time is ripe.

Pithart Criticizes Skoda Venture Invalidation

AU0903135892 Prague CSTK in English 1542 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 4 (CSTK)—The Federal Antimonopoly Office's statement yesterday that the Skoda-Volkswagen joint venture is invalid damaged the Czech Republic's economic interests, Czech Premier Petr Pithart said today.

Imrich Flassik, head of Czechoslovakia's Federal Office for Economic Competition, said in an interview published in yesterday's "LIDOVE NOVINY" that last March's 6,000 million dollar deal between Germany's Volkswagen and the Czech Skoda auto manufacturer was "invalid to this day, because they did not request the approval of our office (as required by law)".

At the time the Czech Government decided to enter the agreement with Volkswagen, in December 1990, the Antimonopoly Office did not yet exist, Pithart told reporters during a break in today's Czech cabinet session.

The Office for Economic Competition was established by an act of the Federal Assembly (parliament) July 19, 1990. It began functioning January 18, 1991.

Volkswagen Chairman Carl Hahn and Czech Industry Minister Jan Vrba officially closed the deal—giving Volkswagen a 31 percent stake in Skoda, to increase to 70 percent by 1995—March 28, 1991 at Skoda headquarters in Mlada Boleslav, northeast of Prague.

The Czech cabinet asked Federal Premier Marian Calfa to request Flassik to come to their session today to explain his views on the matter.

Flassik's statement was inappropriate and irresponsible, Pithart said. Vrba denied Flassik's claims that the Czech Government promised Volkswagen preferential treatment, thereby taking on itself powers reserved for the federal ministries.

"All of the matters considered by the Czech Government in the Skoda-Volkswagen merger that concerned the Czechoslovak State Bank (SBCS) and the federal ministries were consulted with these institutions in advance", Vrba said. "The SBCS, the Federal Finance Ministry and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade all agreed with what we promised Skoda".

According to Vrba, Skoda received assurances from the Czech Government that as long as it did not abuse its monopoly position and violate the anti-monopoly law, it would not be prosecuted.

Flassik told "LIDOVE NOVINY" that these promises were illegal and that only the Foreign Trade Ministry had authority in this area.

Friday [28 February] the Antimonopoly Office began an investigation into Skoda's decision to raise passenger automobile prices an average of nine percent as of March 1, saying the price increase amounted to abuse of Skoda's dominant position in the Czechoslovak market.

April 30, 1991 Volkswagen also signed an agreement with the Bratislava-based auto parts manufacturer BAZ for an 80 percent stake, rising to 94 percent by 1993.

Carnogursky, Klepac Comment on KDH Split

AU0803202792 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Mar 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement and Slovak prime minister, by Frantisek Melis in Bratislava on 3 March: "They Will Not Put on Boxing Gloves"]

[Text] The third of March was an exceptionally exhausting day for Jan Carnogursky, Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]—both physically and mentally. Until 1800 he had to endure a marathon session in the government building at Freedom Square and, immediately thereafter, he went with his BMW to Zabotova Street, to the KDH divorce proceedings supervised by the KDH Council Presidium. On the other side were Slovak National Council Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac, Jan Carnogursky's erstwhile fellow combatant in the movement and his current political rival, and Klepac's supporters in the KDH steering body. It was about two hours before midnight when the first protagonists of the encounter started leaving the office. First we made Jan Klepac stop.

[Melis] How satisfied are you with today's talks?

[Klepac] The talks were constructive, free of emotions, and we discussed the problems in a businesslike way. We clarified our opinions and stands on political issues and discovered that an agreement that would allow us to draw up a single political electoral program for the entire movement is not possible. Since it is impossible for the movement to go into the elections with two different programs, each subject will participate in them with his own ideas.

[Melis] Could you define the meaning of the formulation "coalition grouping" that is used in the communique?

[Klepac] Two separate political subjects will participate in the elections. The expression coalition means that the ministers of neither faction will withdraw from the government. That is, the situation should not be repeated that we experienced during the split of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] when ministers sympathizing with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia left the government. We do not want to destabilize the political situation in Slovakia and I therefore assume that the government and parliament will function normally until the elections.

[Melis] Are you really completely convinced that the KDH's split will not destabilize the political situation in Slovakia?

[Klepac] I am no prophet but we definitely do not have any interest in destabilization.

[Melis] Does the present situation represent the breaking away of one faction or does it represent the division of the movement, in your opinion?

[Klepac] It is, rather, the division of the movement into two cooperating subjects. The legal aspects should be specified at the KDH Council meeting on 7 March. The meeting should also assess the division of property and other questions of succession.

[Melis] Has the calling of an extraordinary KDH Assembly been considered at today's talks?

[Klepac] The 7 March meeting of the KDH Council will probably wind up the present state of affairs. I am almost certain that after it, each of us will convene a separate assembly at which we will adopt our own electoral programs and compile our own lists of candidates.

[Melis] Does this mean that you learned a lesson from the analogous process in the VPN?

[Klepac] We want the division to take place in a civilized fashion, with as few shocks as possible for both factions.

[Melis] Are you counting on a pre-election coalition partner?

[Klepac] It is premature to talk about it but we feel sufficiently strong to go into the elections on our own. We are not going to abandon the platform of Christian social orientation—first because many of us joined the movement with those views, which we would also like to present in our electoral program, and, second, because we maintain close relations with Christian Democratic and Christian Social parties in Western Europe and would not like to lose those contacts.

[Melis] What name have you chosen for your political force?

[Klepac] The Slovak Christian Democratic Movement [SKDH], but the decision must be made by the KDH Council meeting on 7 March. By adding the adjective Slovak we want to accentuate our efforts toward the complete economic and political sovereignty of Slovakia, which, apart from the Christian principle, we consider to be one of the key points of our future electoral program. Our positions have been clearly manifested in our views on the economic reform as well as in the vote on the draft treaty of Milovy on the principles of the constitutional setup.

[Melis] Where in Slovakia do you have the largest number of supporters?

[Klepac] In central Slovakia. We have fewer supporters in west Slovakia and east Slovakia. The districts that will join us will become part of the SKDH. If a district organization decides to adhere to the original platform, we will try to build our own organization in that district.

At around 2200 we approached Jan Carnogursky.

[Melis] Does the formulation, used in the communique, that the movement will be transformed into two political subjects mean the movement's division or does it mean only a separation?

[Carnogursky] For the time being, I would stick to the word transformation. However, until the KDH Council meeting on 7 March, which will make the final decisions, everything is only preliminary. Until then I will leave it up to interpretation by journalists. It will, however, be the other faction that will have to register anew with the Ministry of Interior.

[Melis] Is it possible to compare the correlation of forces between the two factions?

[Carnogursky] In practically all voting in the movement's bodies, the faction of gradual steps had a preponderance.

[Melis] Which one is the platform that you lead?

[Carnogursky] The faction of gradual steps.

[Melis] Does this mean that you will go into the elections on your own, as you recently declared, or are you now considering the conclusion of some coalition alliance?

[Carnogursky] We will go into the elections on our own but we will send certain signals to other political subjects, indicating whether we have an affinity with them or not.

[Melis] What are the present ideas as regards the division of property?

[Carnogursky] We have discussed this issue in a very businesslike way and established a commission that will prepare practical measures. I am confident that we will come to an agreement because we are not materialists and do not attribute too great an importance to property.

[Melis] Will there be anything to divide?

[Carnogursky] Mostly debts.

[Melis] Not so long ago you spoke about the KDH's unity, and all of a sudden in the communique you acknowledge that political differences have existed within the movement for some time now.

[Carnogursky] The existence of two currents has been known for some time and we did not deny it. A dialectical unity of the KDH existed but analysis and other symptoms have shown us that the movement's unity cannot be sustained by force because such a unity would not be functional.

[Melis] In other words, has Vladimir Meciar's forecast that the movement would break up come true?

[Carnogursky] I have told you already that I will leave characterizing the movement's present situation up to journalists' imagination.

[Melis] Are you still convinced, now that the number of your supporters will evidently diminish, that after the elections you will again have to bend down to pick up power that will be lying on the street?

[Carnogursky] I am still convinced about it because I think that the political developments not only in Czechoslovakia but in this entire part of Europe prove me right in that dramatic political steps are dangerous and risky and are a cause of stress to the state [sposobuju statu stresy]. The citizens will again come to see that the policy of gradual steps, a policy that respects reality and is willing to strike compromise solutions, is a good policy, provided that these compromise solutions make it possible to make at least another half-step forward. I believe that in the tumultuous Europe of today it is irresponsible to have in one's program dramatic slogans and steps. We therefore want to establish again the KDH's firmer unity, which will become a safeguard of Slovakia's guarantee [zaruka istoty Slovenska].

[Melis] What has, in your opinion, accelerated this process in the movement, especially in the wake of the vote of Vranov [on 22 February] where the majority of KDH Council members voiced confidence in you?

[Carnogursky] The fact that the elections are around the corner. If we want to submit a responsible program to the voters, it must pursue a clear and future-oriented line. That is why we have had to deliberately accelerate differentiation within the movement.

Calfa Interviewed on Arms Trade, Policy

AU0903133492 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 5 Mar 92 p 7

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Andrej Surnak; place and date not given: "The Lobby Is Taking its Loss of Status Badly"]

[Text] [Surnak] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Martin Porubjak, a fellow member of the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party, made a statement in which he inferred that certain Arab countries interested in our weapons would like the CSFR to break up so that arms production would be continued in Slovakia. Do you agree with this statement?

[Calfa] I do not know if Mr. Porubjak has any evidence to back this claim. It seems a little farfetched to me. I would stick to the Central European region and its problems. I do not think there is any desire to maintain several plants in Czechoslovakia or for Slovakia to produce these few tanks. If you consider how widely the countries of the former Soviet Union are trading in arms or what immense capacity—as far as weapons systems and tanks are concerned—China and other countries have, then there are so many weapons on the market today that mankind is faced with an absolute glut of them.

[Surnak] Slovak politicians, mainly from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, favor a fundamental renewal of economic relations with Arab countries, whereas Czech and federal politicians are united in their support for the State of Israel. When considering the criteria for exporting arms to individual Middle Eastern countries, agreement among these politicians could be just wishful thinking. To what extent do disputes about our common foreign policy concept influence progress in settling the CSFR's constitutional and legal arrangement?

[Calfa] I think people in Czechoslovakia should be interested in renewing trade with Arab countries. Of course, we differentiate among them from a foreign

policy point of view. We have adhered to all the embargoes declared by the United Nations. In other words, we would like to develop our economic relations with the countries in this region, but we respect the decisions made by the international community. Obviously, you mean instances where arms supplies could be a condition for developing economic relations. In this case, we would consider whether interest in arms supplies is paramount or whether interest in trade has priority. However, I do not know of any Arab country that would set such a condition. There was one country with which we held important negotiations on this subject and which linked the export of weapons systems—albeit older ones—with civilian trade. However, this was not an Arab state. As far as the constitutional and legal arrangement is concerned, the armaments industry played a certain role in the arguments put forward by some political forces to Czech and federal representatives. Of course, few people know that the Czech Republic is also considerably affected by the conversion of arms production, particularly its electrotechnical industry. The arms industry in Slovakia affected by conversion accounts for roughly 6 percent of all industry. I do not think the remaining 94 percent will be destroyed by this 6 percent. This is a regional issue and the problem is that a certain lobby accustomed to a particular status is, evidently, taking its loss badly. This is more of a political matter than a constitutional and legal one.

[Surnak] Another Federal Assembly session began this week. Among other things, it should deal with a draft law that would regulate the arms trade. Since 1990 the necessity of its adoption has been conveyed in various government resolutions. Why, then, has the Federal Government de facto done nothing to ensure its timely discussion in the federal parliament?

[Calfa] It is not quite true that the Federal Government has done nothing. The government prepared this law and it was debated during the comments procedure where it met with rejection on the republican level. According to the republics, it attempts to regulate matters that fall within their jurisdiction. Of course, it is necessary to emphasize that it is untrue that the arms trade sphere would not be strictly regulated. The only thing not completely under supervision is the fact that any Czechoslovak organization can whenever it wants make a bid or survey the arms market without actually having the possibility of completing the contract without approval from a state body...

[Surnak] You mean the licensing procedure that was abrogated by the Commercial Code at the beginning of this year. However, it was already known last year that this would happen...

[Calfa] We thought that the licensing procedure would suffice and that the commercial unreliability of a number of companies would finally be made clear, because they would be unable to keep their promises to their customers if they did not obtain approval from a state body. Such companies can cast Czechoslovakia in a bad light, but we cannot state that a contract would be fulfilled. This should come under supervision. Unfortunately, when this issue is discussed the impression is always given that anyone can export arms anywhere from Czechoslovakia. This is not true.

[Surnak] Nevertheless, certain negative processes are involved here. For example, artificial price reductions when several firms offer the same goods. This is not in the economic interest of either the state or the producer. Moreover, people lacking the necessary moral and civic qualities deal in the arms trade....

[Calfa] If you are talking about prices, then, obviously, firms undercut each other on the market via their offers. However, they only make offers. When an export license is granted, the individual contract is scrutinized; this means looking into who is conducting the deal and with whom, the country of final destination, how much the goods are being sold for, and also the payment conditions—that is, how serious they are. Firms can undercut each other, but in the end the state body approves the price in the license. Do you want to prohibit them beforehand from undercutting each other? Are they to agree among themselves?

[Surnak] No, but we have a limited range of producers and an optimum number of companies that would represent them commercially and would be under the state's supervision should correspond to them.

[Calfa] That would mean returning to the system we had previously, the one the Commercial Code abrogated. We must introduce a procedure that would enable companies to move around in this market in general. We are returning to state regulation and are tightening trading conditions in response to a liberal Commercial Code. I, personally, am in favor of this.

[Surnak] The authors of the deputies' version of the law propose that the prime minister should head the government committee responsible for making the final decision in contentious cases....

[Calfa] I will reject this proposal, because the prime minister is the head of government. I do not need to head another body. Either the government will make the decisions on these issues—these would then be collective decisions—or the task will fall to the appropriate department. In a democratic system no other body with the power of arbitration can stand between a department and the government. We have the State Defense Council alongside the government. Of course, we required a constitutional law for this because we established another body parallel to the government. However, in my opinion, it is not good to establish bodies parallel to the government. Such a body can only have a coordinating or consultative role, it can give specialist consideration to the whole matter, but it must then make a recommendation and the government will make the final decision.

[Surnak] In this connection, advanced states are familiar with these variants—the American presidential system or the European system where either the government has this jurisdiction or a government committee chaired by the prime minister has it. This ensures the necessary constitutional and political responsibility for such a decision.

[Calfa] I do not know what kind of systems there are in the world, but the presidential system is obvious. There is no prime minister in the United States and the president has immense constitutional jurisdiction. In our country the government should make decisions on such matters. The general question is whether the bodies responsible for the republics' economies, that is, the republican governments, should make the decisions on exporting this merchandise.

[Surnak] Of course, the CSFR has certain obligations to the European Community resulting from the Association Agreement.

[Calfa] However, it is also stated in the accompanying letter that the republics will participate in fulfilling these obligations in harmony with their jurisdiction.

[Surnak] [Federal Deputy Prime Minister] Pavel Rychetsky and Jiri Dienstbier criticize the Federal Foreign Trade Ministry because the Foreign Ministry does not have the right of veto in the interdepartmental commission that authorizes arms exports. The interdepartmental commission's authority was, of course, stipulated by government decree No. 174/1991 and, as far as I am aware, the aforementioned government members agreed with it. Are you aware of any commercial transaction that the Foreign Ministry disagreed with, but, despite this, was implemented?

[Calfa] No. The Federal Foreign Ministry has agreed to all the commercial transactions that have been implemented and for which the Federal Foreign Trade Ministry has granted licenses. I think that when an interdepartmental commission is established, it should involve departments that enjoy equal status. No one ministry should have the right of veto there. Another structure is possible. If someone disagrees with something in the commission, the foreign trade minister has the right to override this view by submitting the material to the government for its decision. Therefore, I do not see why the Foreign Ministry should have the right of veto in the commission. The Defense Ministry would then also have to have the same right. I feel the Foreign Ministry is making a specific attempt to make the decisions.

[Surnak] Let us turn to more sensitive issues. Mr. Prime Minister, did you discuss the—for us—unfortunate case of the vessel Godewind with Mr. Kohl?

[Calfa] No. This is not a government matter. The bodies responsible for maintaining the law, that is, the courts and prosecutors' offices, are dealing with it. We will respect their decision, just as Mr. Kohl will have to respect it.

[Surnak] Will Czechoslovakia continue its tank exports to Syria?

[Calfa] Yes.

[Surnak] You mean the order that is now being implemented?

[Calfa] We concluded a contract with Syria. A license was issued for it and, therefore, it will be completed. It is pointless to discuss what will happen next. We have no intention to export more tanks.

[Surnak] It is rumored that there is strong pressure from certain Czech political circles to conclude a contract between Letecky Opravna [aircraft repair company] Malesice and a Syrian partner. Do you know anything about this?

[Calfa] Yes, I know about it. This involves repairing the engines of the L-39 aircraft we supplied to Syria. It is now necessary to consider whether repairing engines constitutes supplying technology. I think we can have no objections to servicing the aircraft we supplied. Moreover, Malesice is the only repair company in Czechoslovakia, including for the Czechoslovak Army. This order is extremely important for maintaining the enterprise's survival and we need this enterprise for the future.

[Surnak] At the moment, manufactured arms are at the center of attention. However, what is happening with those to which the Paris, Vienna, and Budapest agreements relate? A claim was made in the weekly RESPEKT that we exported 200 tanks to Peru....

[Calfa] I do not know anything about the export of 200 tanks to Peru. A claim was made in RESPEKT a year ago that I know something about tank exports to North Korea. One can only laugh at such reports. We scrap the weapons we have undertaken to mothball from the Army. There are no doubts at all about this. The weapons systems our that Army does not require and are—naturally—mothballed are sold by the Army. The licensing procedure again comes into operation here.

[Surnak] What do you say to the Army being able to trade in arms itself?

[Calfa] The Army intends to set up a trade organization and I see no reason why it should not do so. This would be a trade organization like any other and it would have to be subject to the same supervision. It would be unable to operate on a purely market and profit basis. It would just be a selling organization and its income and expenditure would be directly associated with the Army's budget. Incidentally, it is apparent from the conclusions reached by parliament on this year's budget that the Army will have revenue outside the budget, that is, from arms sales. It is also necessary to add that we have the institution of Army Inspector General written into our constitution, that is, another supervisory mechanism above the Army.

[Surnak] Do you think anxiety about the Tamara defense radar system being duplicated if it is sold to the Middle East is warranted? After all, this system should be replaced by the much more modern BORAP [expansion unknown] system within the next five years.

[Calfa] It is ludicrous that Tamara is regarded as a weapon. RESPEKT did this too. Tamara is a radar system that serves as a defense system. It is in fact a ground-based AWACS system. Tamara was deployed in the army of the former GDR and has remained in the Bundeswehr. It is among the Syrian Army's equipment. Incidentally, when you sell such a system, you must expect that someone will try and find out how it works. We can only do one thing. If a system of this type crops up somewhere, we can apply for protection by legal means. However, we are interested in ensuring that Tesla Pardubice exports this product, one of the few state-of-the-art electronic products in Czechoslovakia.

[Surnak] Can it be said that the government also supports the development of the new system?

[Calfa] No one has asked the government for any resources to develop new systems. If Pardubice develops this system on its own as an electronics plant, it must know that it is saleable.

[Surnak] Is it true that on 6 December 1990 Omnipol exported anti-aircraft missiles and submachine guns to Slovenia?

[Calfa] I really do not know anything about this. When I asked the foreign trade minister about it, he was unable to confirm anything. Of course, I do not know what the system until 1990 was like....

[Surnak] It was the state plan procedure....

[Calfa] If an official order was made and it met with all the requirements, there would have been no legal obstacles in Czechoslovakia to the contract being fulfilled. Of course, right now, I cannot be exactly sure of this. However, I can say that if it is ever ascertained that our regulations were violated, we will draw the appropriate conclusions.

[Surnak] Mr. Prime Minister, will you support the amendment to Article 16 of the jurisdiction law and the deputies' draft law that, among other things, should regulate the arms trade?

[Calfa] As far as the jurisdiction law is concerned, I give it absolutely no chance of being adopted. So far, jurisdiction has been transferred from the federation to the republican level. The intention of the aforementioned draft is the opposite—to literally declare the federation's jurisdiction in this sphere.

[Surnak] Then, of course, the aforementioned draft law cannot even be submitted as it infringes on the constitution.

[Calfa] I do not know if anyone is aware of this, but today's licensing system is not based on the law. It proceeds from the general realization of all the participants that it is necessary to issue licenses from one place and that this has a great bearing on foreign policy. So, they sort of respect this system despite the fact there is no legal basis for it. Of course, there is no reason to attack their conduct, on the contrary.

[Surnak] Can it then be said that this involves a discreet "gentlemen's" agreement among the three governments until the elections?

[Calfa] Why until the elections? Until the agreement is changed. Perhaps it will still be adhered to after the elections. To be honest, it would be better if this system was on a purely legal basis.

[Surnak] Thank you for the interview.

Slovenian Defense Minister Arrives in Budapest

LD0903145192 Budapest MTI in English 1411 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—Janez Jansa, Slovenian minister of defense, arrived in Budapest for a two-day official visit on Monday. He is meeting an invitation from Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur.

According to information from the Ministry of Defence, the sides are to exchange views on current international and security policy issues, and discuss the areas of future cooperation between the two armies. The Slovenian minister of defence is expected to visit an air defence missile battalion of the Hungarian Army.

Holds Talks With Fur

LD0903181692 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Slovenia was one of the first Yugoslav member republics to declare its own independence. The Slovenian minister of defense started talks in Budapest with Lajos Fur, minister of defense. Peter Gyuricza Reports.

[Gyuricza] The Slovenian minister of defense said that Hungary is the first neighboring country with which they intend to conclude a bilateral military agreement.

Lajos Fur said that at the talks the topic of arms sales had not even been raised. This was confirmed by Janez Jansa as well. He said that Slovenia did not buy weapons at all during the war. The Hungarian defense minister indicated four fields in which relations can be strengthened, that is between military leaders, between experts in various military fields, in the field of sports and culture, and through the appointment of military attaches.

The Slovenian minister also expounded that Slovenia is united as far as its territory is concerned; Croatian and Serbian minorities do not live on its land; consequently there are no territorial claims. His country is interested in establishing good relations with its neighbors. It is connected with Croatia with common borders also, but, since there is a state of war there, the atmosphere of relations is more tense. [passage omitted]

European Bank President Meets Finance Minister

LD0903212892 Budapest MTI in English 1856 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] is to play a role in Eastern Europe as the Marshall-plan did in Western Europe after World War II, EBRD President Jacques Attali said after opening the bank's local office today.

The EBRD, launched with a 10-billion-ECU [European Currency Unit] capital, has the necessary resources but still lacks feasible investment opportunities, Attali said. The EBRD is not to extend aid, Attali said, but finance actual projects and promote the mutual interest of integrating the East into Western Europe.

Speaking about talks with Attali, Hungarian Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa said they discussed financial means to support East-Central European exports to the former Soviet Union.

"There are opportunities and the EBRD will probably be able to help, but no miracle must be expected," Kupa said.

Attali, Kupa Comment

LD0903214592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent including excerpts from interview with Jacques Attali, president of European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa; Attali in English fading to Hungarian translation; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] [passage omitted] Jacques Attali told NEPSZABADSAG the other day that it is better to finance Eastern European aid programs than later to finance peace-keeping forces. I asked him this afternoon who is willing to give money for this. [passage omitted]

[Attali] People very often say that we need a Marshall plan for Eastern Europe or the USSR. I do not agree with that. For a Marshall plan does exist, this is the European Bank with the basic capital of $10 billion. This capital was given by the United States, Japan, and the European countries [passage omitted]

It is in our own interest that Eastern Europe should get back on its feet again. If the 300-400 million people living in Eastern Europe can join Europe in democratic societies and market economies in growth it will mean further job opportunities in Western Europe also; therefore, it is a very good investment. We consider it a very important task of ours to succeed with this venture in order not to disappoint the taxpayers. I think that it is a unique occasion in the history of Hungary that now the country's future is in the hand of the citizens, and this also means that if they fail, they can only blame themselves.

[Correspondent] Did you talk with Mr. Attali about trade with the members states of the former Soviet Union, financed by the EBRD, since this could mean a serious capital injection to Hungary? This is what I asked Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa. Later Attali also joined in the reply.

[Kupa] We discussed this issue with Mr. Attali this morning. He too and others also can see opportunities to apply financial instruments step by step, which would facilitate this trade. However, neither of us expects miracles.

[Attali] We are working hard on that on two directions. I have proposed and I am doing my best to promote the idea of facilitating trade between the former member states of the collapsed CEMA and the republics of the former Soviet Union. I am trying to convince the politicians that there is great need for a pan-European common market, the member states of which would be every country of Eastern and Western Europe without exception. Such a pan-European common market would make it possible to avoid the pitfalls of the bilateral economic negotiations, the cumbersome and slow bargaining. Besides developing international trade, it is also necessary to create a new mechanism of international accounting. [passage omitted]

We know what to do and also how much will the establishment of this accounting system cost. I tell you before you ask me, $6-8 billion would be needed annually. As regards the stages of organization, we called a conference of experts on trade in London for 26 and 27 March. We can say more about this afterwards.

Bank President Meets Antall

LD0903212392 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Monday met Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD].

Attali is in Budapest for the opening of the EBRD representation office, and to prepare the bank's general assembly, scheduled to be held here in April.

Present at the meeting were Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa, and EBRD Vice-President Miklos Nemeth.

According to information from the prime minister's press office, both sides stressed that a good and successful cooperation has come about between Hungary and the EBRD, indication of which is the proportion of projects approved in Hungary to date.

Jacques Attali said the hitherto development of Hungarian national economy is basically successful, and Hungary is a good example in the region for the road to be followed.

Prime Minister Antall stressed the importance of Western assistance in making it possible to restore economy and uphold political stability in the East European region, parallel to the creation of independent national economies.

The prime minister specially discussed the situation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Yugoslavia, and the foreign policy and security policy issues of the entire region.

Foreign Ministry Reacts to Mercenaries in Croatia

LD0903181792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] The daily UJ MAGYARORSZAG carried an interview this morning with a young Hungarian man, aged 27, who is fighting as a mercenary in the Yugoslav civil war on the side of the Croatian Guard. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman is on the phone.

[Herman] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry does not have an official standpoint on the issue and there is no need to have one. This is a step based on an individual decision, for which Hungarian foreign policy does not provide any kind of assistance, and which cannot be prevented constitutionally by Hungarian foreign policy. It has to be added that mercenaries do not have legal status in international law. Maybe, for this very reason, there is no real opportunity to deal with this situation on a state level.

Goncz Speaks to Assembly on Revelation of Crimes

LD0903185392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1407 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly: At my request the Constitutional Court examined the law, adopted at the 4 November 1991 National Assembly session, but not yet proclaimed, on the possibility of prosecuting grave crimes committed between 21 December 1944 and 2 May 1990 which were not prosecuted for political reasons, as well as the constitutionality of its first paragraph, since anxieties have arisen with regard to this.

The Constitutional Court made its ruling which is binding on everyone. It made its decision in accordance with the principles of democratic legal statehood, which at all times permits a calling to account only in strict observance of constitutionality, even with regard to those who committed grave crimes. In this way, it pointed to the limits of the possibilities for a penal calling to account deriving from the Constitution.

The ruling was not able to take into account the general bitterness and outrage felt as a result of the armed attack that was made on the lawful Hungarian Government, the reprisals and the political murders. Having an awareness and understanding of this, I have already indicated at the plenary session of the Constitutional Court that insofar as the body were to qualify the law in question as unconstitutional—over and above sending it back to the National Assembly—I would avail myself of the right laid down in Point (?F) of Subsection 1 of Paragraph 30/A of the Constitution, and submit a proposal to the legislature. With reference to the decision and to its contents, on the basis of Paragraph 26, Subsection 5 of the Constitution, I sent the law back to the National Assembly.

At the same time, I propose to the esteemed National Assembly that it take cognizance of and deliberate the following:

The absence of penal calling to account cannot be an obstacle to the constitutionally endorsed revelation of the truth. Like every other people, the Hungarian people have the right to know their own history, and within this the historical events of the decades of the recent past. The state must cooperate actively in the revelation of the truth.

In pursuance of this, I propose that the National Assembly set up an historical fact-finding committee to reveal and analyze the processes, events, and facts of the period between 21 December 1944 and 23 October 1989.

By revealing and processing the sources that are available or which can be discovered, by listening to the actors in and the witnesses of the above-mentioned events, by utilizing the professional studies and research that have so far been made public, it should be the task of the committee to prepare a report on the past four and one half decades.

In the course of its fact-finding, the committee should make public the specific decisions violating the country's sovereignty, constitutionality, and laws, and should name those responsible for these decisions, for the actions against the human being and against life. Upon the conclusion of its work it should inform the country's citizens of its findings.

The credible revelation of the events and the naming of persons responsible for violations of the law could help in becoming familiar with our tragic national recent past, and at the same time—without offending the Constitution and the basic legal principles in force at any time—could help dissolve the tensions that are prevalent in society, which have so far been caused by the absence of this.

I will also send my proposal in writing to the speaker of the esteemed house. Thank you for your kind attention. Thank you for allowing me to speak.

Democratic Forum on Goncz Proposal

LD0903190892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1412 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Speech by Imre Konya, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum faction, to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed house, Mr. President of the republic: On behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] parliamentary group of MPs, I am glad to welcome the initiative of Mr. President of the republic which, we hope that in contrast with the proposal submitted by the government in September 1990 with more or less similar aims—directed toward setting up a committee to examine political responsibility—this proposal will at last gain the approval of all sides of the house, and most of all their support.

If this happens, then this proposal, or the committee set up on its basis, could become a suitable instrument to reveal the historical events of the past decades and establish and show in an authortative manner the personal responsibility of those who made the decisions at the time which led to such tragic consequences.

But the proposal does not offer a solution to the question which the majority of the Hungarian parliament wishes to resolve by the Zeteny Law, now declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court. We continue to believe that in the case of acts which were deemed to be criminal acts, serious criminal acts, even according to the laws in force at the time they were committed, all circumstances must be clarified through court procedures.

This position is supported by Paragraph 57 of our Constitution, according to which everyone has the right to have any accusations against him judged fairly in an open, impartial court established by law.

At present experts are working on the proposal, as a result of which, taking into account the decision of the Constitutional Court as well, legal and constitutional opportunities will be provided for the courts to take action against those who committed serious crimes; and the courts should establish the facts.

Thank you for listening to me.

Milk, Tea, Pasta Prices Increased

LD0903101192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Excerpts] As of today the consumer price of several foods has been increased, so more will have to be paid for milk with 2.8 percent fat content, for tea, and for pasta. [passage omitted] Pasta prices on average are being increased by 21 percent.

Russian, Polish Troop Statistics 'At Variance'

LD1003142292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Colonel Stefan Golebiowski, press spokesman for the representative of the Polish Government for issues relating to the stay of Soviet forces, announced today that figures on the numbers of personal weapons, material and technical stores of Soviet forces withdrawn from Poland that were provided at the beginning of March by the Soviet side are at variance with information on that subject from the Polish side. The Russian figures contain figures for troops and equipment of the former Soviet Army withdrawn from Poland that are larger than the information of the Polish side.

The representative's office has also not yet received a timetable for the evacuation of these forces from Poland. Colonel Golebiowski said that everything was, however, on the right path. According to the treaty initialled in the autumn of last year, by 15 November this year all combat units of the former Soviet Army are to have left Poland. Colonel-General Viktor Dubynin will continue to be the representative of the Russian government for the stay and withdrawal of these forces from Poland.

Planning Chief Seeks Compromise in IMF Talks

LD0903212592 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—In talks with the IMF we do not seek a renegotiation of the agreement, but a formula of compromise realistic for Poland, Chairman of the Central Planning Office (CUP) Jerzy Eysymontt told PAP Monday.

"I know the opinions of the IMF and the World Bank on the economic situation of Poland, since I had long hours of discussions with representatives of both these institutions, and we will continue the talks," he added.

"I think that a lot of unnecessary excitement has been aroused by the report prepared by the World Bank and the opinions of IMF experts," the Polish economic supremo went on. "Press reactions have contributed to this excitement to a large extent. This publicity is not good for Poland's image in the world," Eysymontt stressed.

He stated that the government was determined to sign an agreement with the IMF. He said it was only natural that the IMF, which stood behind the reduction of the Polish foreign debt, must be kept informed about the main lines of the government policy. "The talks are held between sovereign partners," he remarked.

It is equally understandable that the IMF, which is not a charity organization, goes about its own interests, just as Poland does, Eysymontt also said. "Therefore both sides should strive for a compromise, while exaggerating the differences between the Polish Government and the international financial institutions does not serve well the search for such compromise," Minister Eysymontt observed.

Olszewski Says Poland Has Not Matured To EC

LD0603231692 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bonn, March 5—Polish Prime Minister Jan Olszewski expressed an opinion that Poland "has not yet matured to the European Communities."

The Polish premier, in an interview published in the latest edition of the "RHEINISCHER MERKUR" German weekly, stated that the whole nation has a lot to catch up with and a lot to learn to overcome the effects of several decades of isolation.

The premier also added that despite this, Poland in the future will be able to play an important role in the European Communities due to her geographical position, on the road towards the Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus and Russia.

Russian Truck Crash Uncovers Arms 'Racket'

PM1003101892 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 2 Mar 92 pp 1-2

[Boguslaw Buraczynski report: "Taking 'Powder Keg' Across Poland"]

[Text] It was several minutes past 0100 last Saturday, 29 February, when an articulated TIR truck suddenly veered onto the road verge and turned over as it tumbled into the roadside ditch. A number of metal barrels spilled out of the wrecked vehicle. As they split and cracked, they began to leak a chemical substance into the soil around the truck. Unfortunately, it was several hours before the accident was reported to the relevant services. The incident took place in near the village of Plecka Dabrowa in the parish of Bedlno in Plock Voivodship, on the international Poznan-Warsaw highway route.

It was not until around 0500 the next morning that the regional fire department headquarters in the nearby town of Kutno was alerted. A firefighting truck was immediately dispatched to the scene of the accident. However, it proved impossible to ascertain the type of substance involved in the accident from the markings on the 200-liter containers. Consequently, police patrols were stationed around the hazard zone and experts from the Chemical Incident Unit at the Mazowieckie Refinery and Petrochemical Plant in Plock were summoned to assist. Initial investigation suggested that the substance carried in the TIR truck might be a certain type of polyalcohol. It was subsequently ascertained that it was "polyol," a chemical used in the manufacture of explosive materials in the armaments industry.

It transpired from a detailed examination of the freight documents that the cargo of approximately 15 tonnes of "polyol" was not declared in the customs declaration

document. The only goods declared in the document were listed as "electronic equipment." True, the Volvo truck was also carrying a number of boxes of such equipment, but these were used to cover up the cargo of barrels containing the undeclared chemical substance. The barrels were marked "Made in Germany" and dispatched by the Hopptransport cargo company in Dormagen in Germany. The mystery cargo was addressed to "Karimkhan Teheran," where it was to be handed over to the "Rahvard International Transport Co." The containers were also marked with the name "Baymer," which is thought to be that of the Iranian contractor....

The surprising element in the whole affair is that the carrier company was "Sovtransauto" from Moscow. The Russian driver, 32-year-old Nikolay Ivanovich Krakhmalev, who was responsible for the accident, has been detained by officers from the Regional Police Headquarters in Kutno to assist in the investigation. The reason why the massive truck veered off the road, drove into the ditch, and turned over, was the driver's carelessness in handling the vehicle at a speed inappropriate to the prevailing conditions and visibility at night.

According to information obtained from Senior Warrant Officer Pawel Wojtysiak of the voivodship command unit at the Plock Fire Department Voivodship Headquarters, who supervised the salvaging operation, the operation lasted until 2000. A 32-tonne crane was brought from a construction company in Kutno to the scene of the accident. It lifted the crashed Volvo truck out of the ditch. It was also necessary to dispatch lighting equipment from the Regional Fire Department Headquarters in Gostynin to the scene of the accident. When Adam Stolinski, head of the Chemical Incidents Unit at the Mazowieckie Refinery and Petrochemical Plant, arrived on the scene, he decided that the 4 tonnes of the substance which had leaked out of the damaged containers should be burned.

Detailed investigations are currently under way to establish the circumstances in which the border customs service permitted the cargo of "polyol" to enter Polish territory. Attempts are also being made to identify the producer of the chemical substance used in the production of explosive materials. It is suspected that an international smuggling route used to carry supplies for Iran's armaments industry runs through our country. So we can conclude that we have accidentally stumbled across the trail of a major international contraband racket....

Leaders Discuss Broadening Government Coalition

LD0903190792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] President Lech Walesa received Premier Jan Olszewski this morning. The head of the government presented the situation following the rejection by the Sejm of the assumptions for social and economic policy for the current year. The president pointed out the necessity for resolute action aimed at better understanding by society of the state's economic problems. He stressed the need for broadening the government coalition as the parliamentary basis for the Cabinet.

Commenting on the president's meeting with the premier, Andrzej Drzycimski, spokesman for the head of state, said that when discussing the need for broadening the government coalition, the president did not indicate any particular parties or political groupings; initiative in this field belongs to the premier. According to the spokesman, the need for broadening the coalition follows from the Sejm's rejection of the government assumptions for social and economic policy.

During the meeting in Belweder Palace the government budget draft was also discussed. According to the president's spokesman, in spite of emerging opinions, the draft does not run counter to the IMF recommendations.

Political Leaders Discuss Decommunization Issues

AU0803153792 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Agnieszka Romaszewska-Guzy report: "Discussing Decommunization at the Palace of Culture"]

[Text] An international conference on the subject of decommunization, organized by the Stefan Batory Foundation, opened at the Palace of Culture and Science (which at one time was named after Josef Stalin) on 2 March. The conference participants included leaders of the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, and the Left Alliance. Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Center Accord, declined to participate in the conference. Representatives of the Christian-National Union also failed to attend.

The views of the participants did not differ significantly and what they stressed, above all, were the great difficulties that instituting any kind of formalized decommunization entail. However, the majority observed that there is a need for moral satisfaction in society and a need for a clear cut-off between the present and communism. The latter was deemed a necessity by Professor Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Club.

In his speech, Tadeusz Mazowiecki tried to explain the misunderstandings surrounding the idea of "the thick line." The leader of the Democratic Union is convinced that two years ago when he announced "drawing a thick line under the past," there was no other way out of the situation. It would have been wrong to divide society. However, Mazowiecki stated that he understood the bitterness felt by those who were disappointed, those who said "at the grassroots level nothing has changed." He also agreed that the idea of the "thick line" did in a certain sense violate the principles of justice, but there was nothing that could be done about that.

Some differences in the treatment of communist law emerged between Adam Strzembosz and Professor Ewa Letowska, the former spokesman for civil rights. What Professor Letowska stressed above all was the need to respect the law as it is, because showing contempt for today's laws leads to the loss of a feeling of respect for the law in the future.

Judge Strzembosz placed particular emphasis on the need to change the law and to provide redress to those who were wronged under communism and to condemn the guilty. He said that this does not have to involve the application of the criminal law.

The judge summed up his speech, which opened the debate on justice and the law, with the Latin maxim "no one should profit from the wrong that he has committed."

Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski did not attend the session. In a letter addressed to the president of the Batory Foundation, he stated that he could not take part in light of recent statements by leaders of the Democratic Union to the effect that an alliance with post-communist groupings was a possibility. According to the chairman of the Center Accord, were he to participate in the conference it could be interpreted as signifying that the Center Accord would agree to a coalition with the Alliance of the Democratic Left.

Responding to Kaczynski's letter, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that regardless of whether some statements made by members of the Democratic Union provided a basis for such assertions, the Democratic Union has no intention of forming a coalition with the Alliance of the Democratic Left.

Aleksander Kwasniewski and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz took part in the conference. They both expressed far-reaching reservations regarding the idea of decommunization and said that it had essentially already taken place through the existence of noncommunist governments and through personnel changes.

Walesa Proposes Abolishing Communist Decorations

LD0803134392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Taking advantage of his right to legislative initiative, President Lech Walesa has submitted a draft law to the Sejm on state decorations. It envisages, among others, the restoration of the Order Orla Bialego [Order of the White Eagle], the oldest and highest order of the Polish Republic since the 18th century. The draft also envisages abolishing the Order of the Builders of People's Poland, the Order of the Cross of Grunwald, the Order of the Banner of Labor, and the Medal for Defense of the People's Power. This means that these awards will no longer be granted when the bill is passed, but persons who have already been awarded these decorations will continue to have the right to wear these orders and medals.

Daily Notes Threat of Split in Center Alliance

LD0903114192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] A total of 140 activists of the Center Alliance [PC] took part in the Forum of Christian-Democratic Thought, regarded by the party leaders as aimed at splitting the PC. Referring to this topic, ZYCIE WARSZAWY comments that a year ago it seemed that the PC had a chance to become the strongest Polish party. In the paper's assessment this alliance is today on the verge of splitting.

According to ZYCIE WARSZAWY the most important reason for this seems to be the fact that the Polish political scene is clearly starting to divide into two camps. The core of the first camp is constituted by the Democratic Union [UD] and the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD], the parties whose leaders created the first two noncommunist cabinets. These parties have in common a positive attitude to Balcerowicz's version of building capitalism. They are also united by the will to join Europe as soon as possible, which is perceived also as adopting Western social and moral models.

The second camp is connected with the present government. The parties belonging to it are united by the conviction that so far the method of building Polish capitalism has failed. Joining Europe, however, should not mean giving up the Polish traditional moral model.

In the paper's opinion the PC is located in the center, near a fast increasing breach dividing the two ways of thinking about Poland.

Officials, Parties Comment on Moldovan Conflict

Deputies Call For Action

AU0903200992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1902 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/3/1992—On Monday, March 9 a statement was read in the plenum of the Assembly of Deputies of Romania's Parliament where the Bucharest Parliamentary Group of the National Council of the Union, "worried about the evolution of the bloody events continuing to aggravate in the Transdnestrian territory belonging to the Republic of Moldova, considers that the ensemble of Romania's legal institutions should take immediate action by virtue of its historical duties to put an end to that conflict. The parliamentary group calls at the same time to express national solidarity which more than ever necessary now, in these mourning days of the Romanian nation," the statement reads.

The Bucharest Parliamentary Group of the National Council of the Union proposes Romania's Parliament to invite a delegation of the Chisinau Parliament which should present the joint session of the two houses both the real situation in the Republic of Moldova and the ways it could be helped to face the undeclared war which had been imposed to it.

The Bucharest parliamentary group asks Romania's Parliament, Romania's president and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to express—immediately and unequivocally—Romania's attitude towards the tragic events in Moldova, the statement reads in conclusion.

CD Condemns Separatist 'Terror'

AU0803191992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] The Democratic Convention [CD] issued a declaration-appeal on the latest events in Moldova. The statement points out, among other things, that the bilateral denunciation of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact amounts to a legal cancellation of that pact's effects and that the problem of returning to the pre-1940 situation should be resolved through negotiations. The CD declaration-appeal reads: Until then, we cannot remain indifferent to the acts of violence and terror which special troops equipped with modern armaments are aiming against the civilian population. The document also calls on Romania's Parliament and Government to officially state that any attack against the integrity of Moldova's territory and inhabitants will be considered an attack against Romania's territory and citizens. The CD declaration-appeal concludes: We call today on all our country's citizens to stand by their brothers across the Prut River in soul and mind.

PNTCD Expresses 'Outrage'

AU0803191492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] A communique from the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] expresses concern and outrage over the terror the Transdnestrian separatists are exerting on the Romanians of the Republic of Moldova. The document asks the Romanian Government to request that the CIS exercise control over its troops deployed in the area and calls upon Mr. Mircea Snegur [president of the Republic of Moldova] to take resolute steps to cope with the situation and turn to the relevant international forums.

Paper Says Dnestrian Separatists Avoid Solution

AU1003121792 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7-8 Mar 92 p 6

[Bogdan Chirieac article: "The Hydra of Dnestrian Separatism"]

[Text] "The Republic of Moldova will turn into a new Nagorno-Karabakh if we do not receive assurances that it will not unite with Romania," the renegade of "Moldovan" nationality, Alexandru Caraman, vice president of the self-proclaimed "Dnestrian Republic," dared to say with boundless insolence and arrogance in the wake of the latest events on the left bank of the Dnester River.

Those who saw the death of the Soviet empire as the end of the nightmare that had frightened mankind for more than seven decades spoke too soon. The "dragon" was deprived of some heads, but the few heads that were not chopped off are still capable of causing huge suffering to those who have the bad luck to be living nearby. The "Dnestrian Republic" is undoubtedly one of these heads. After the "beheading" of the Soviet Union, all those who faithfully and devotedly served the Soviets withdrew to the fringes of the former empire to create a little kingdom for themselves. Igor Smirnov, Transdnestria's "president," himself a Russian from God knows where, has gathered around him desperate members of the KGB and defunct CPSU. All these "desperadoes" are united by a single sentiment, namely fear; fear of what will happen after the fall of the empire, fear of Moldova's independence, fear of its union with Romania.

The recent conflict in Moldova was provoked by the backbone of the Dnestrian Republic, namely the Republican Guard. Numbering some 2,000 paid "killers," that guard is made up of jobless Afghanistan veterans, KGB snipers who are out of work due to the end of the "cold war," and Cossacks driven away from their homes on the Don River by hunger and the "unquenched" thirst for vodka.

The attacks on the police stations in Dubossary and the killing of innocent people in Kochiery and Cosnita coincided with the international recognition of the Republic of Moldova and its integration in the international community. As a matter of fact, the aim was to

obstruct this international recognition, which the separatists see as a great danger. Occupying the right bank of the Dnester and holding on to enclaves on the left bank, the phantom republic of the Dnestrians is not recognized by anyone and is not even supported by the Ukraine or Russia, at least not openly.

"The Army will not become involved in the events," Major General Yuriy Netkachev, commander of the 14th Army of the CIS forces deployed in Moldova on the left bank of the Dnestr River. "We only obey the Command of the CIS Armed Forces and do not intend to take sides in this conflict," he added to the disappointment of the Transdnestrian leaders, who actually threatened him with...expulsion.

The armistice signed in Chisinau last Wednesday evening [4 March] was already violated. The first dead had to be avenged with more dead, who in their turn had to be avenged with others... the spiral of violence thus continuing without end. The Foreign Ministry in Moscow warned that the "expansion of the conflict between Moldova and Transdnestria could have unforeseeable consequences not only for Moldova but for the entire CIS." In turn, President Mircea Snegur did not exclude appealing to the United Nations to send the blue helmets to the area. Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander of the Joint Armed Forces, tried to take advantage of the confusion created and asked Snegur no more and no less than to "totally freeze Moldova's decision to create its own army..." in order to settle the conflict.

In the meantime, thousands of demonstrators in Chisinau are demanding general mobilization and, given the lack of a national army, recruitment of fighters for the Ministry of Interior forces. Realizing that excesses may occur, Constantin Oboroc, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, appealed for calm: "We call on you not to let yourselves fall prey to provocations. The time will come to answer the question who were those who wanted Transdnestria so much and who, on the right bank of the Dnestr, renounced it too easily." It is obvious that an inter-ethnic conflict could lead to intense bloodshed and could bring the Dnestrian Republic separatists to the attention of the international community, which is exactly what they want.

In spite of all the passions involved, President Snegur's political solution is surely the only acceptable alternative for Moldova. The trouble is that what the separatists in Transdnestria want to avoid is precisely this solution.

Further Reports on Outcome of Local Elections

'Modest' Turnout Seen

AU0803205192

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian on 8 March broadcasts several reports on the outcome of the local elections. The following were significant:

At 0500 GMT the radio carries an announcer-read report on a Central Election Commission announcement that "today, as of 0600, the second ballot of the local elections is taking place in seven constituencies in Arges and Maramures Counties." Voting will take place in "Bogati, Cocu, and Mosoaia Communes of Arges County" as well as "Ruscova, Rona de Sus, Rozavlea, and Stramtura Communes in Maramures County."

At 1100 GMT Bucharest radio carries another announcer-read report on the progress of the partial local ballot in seven constituencies. According to the announcer, "Voter turnout was pretty low by noon in Maramures," where "mayoral elections are taking place in Rona de Sus, Rozavlea, and Stramtura Communes and councillor elections are taking place in Ruscova Commune." The announcer adds that "At this time, voter turnout has been pretty low in the three Arges County communes, where three independents, one candidate from the Democratic Convention [CD], and two candidates from the National Salvation Front [FSN] are fighting for the mayoral seats."

At 1800 GMT the radio carries a another announcer-read report on the progress of partial elections in Arges and Maramures Counties. Voter turnout in Arges is described as "modest, so far," while in Maramures "it has improved quite a bit." The announcer adds that "no special incidents were reported" and that "the final results of the ballot will be known tomorrow, 9 March."

Maramures County Results

AU0903082792

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 9 March 1992 carries an announcer-read report from the Central Election Commission on the results of the second ballots organized on 8 March "in four electoral constituencies in Arges and Maramures." The announcer says that "This morning, our correspondent from Maramures County, Ioan Delu informed us of the results in the four commune constituencies where elections took place. In the commune of Rona de Sus, the representative of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania was elected to the position of mayor; in the communes of Rozavlea and Strimtura, independent mayors were elected to the office of mayor. In the commune of Ruscove, the number of counselors was completed with six additional counselors. Our correspondent also informs us that in accordance with the government decision, elections in electoral constituency no. 59 Sapinta, Maramures County, will be held on 19 April 1992.

Arges County Results

AU0903193292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Excerpts] According to Article 67 of the Local Election Law, a runoff election was organized yesterday in seven constituencies in Maramures and Arges Counties. [passage omitted]

Our reporter in Pitesti informed us that in Constituency 19 of Arges County, in the commune of Bogati, Dumitru Nitu, an independent candidate running on the National Salvation Front [FSN] list, has been elected mayor with 949 of the 1,209 votes cast. In Constituency 63, Mosoaia, Adam E. Constantin, an independent candidate, running on the FSN list, was elected mayor with 784 of the 1,006 votes cast. In Constituency 35, in the commune of Cocu, Ion T. Ionescu, an independent candidate, was elected mayor with 722 of the 829 votes cast.

CD Contests Cluj Mayor Election

AU0903193892 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4 Mar 92 p 1

[AVR Press report: "Contestation"]

[Text] The AVR PRESS of Cluj Municipality reports that the Cluj Branch of the Democratic Convention [CD] has contested the results of the second ballots in Cluj. Through a note sent to the Central Electoral Commission in Bucharest, they request the cancellation of elections and the organization of new ballots to elect a new mayor of Cluj, instead of Mr. Gheorghe Funar, candidate of the Party of National Unity of Romanians [PUNR], who was elected in the 23 February poll. The Democratic Convention-Cluj branch believes that the results of the elections were vitiated to a great extent by the representatives of the PUNR in collaboration with the Cluj Television station, which on the day before the elections, thus, when the electoral campaign was over, broadcast a communique that was "inciting and obviously calumnious and tendentious."

FSN Group Reviews Founding Principles

AU0503205492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 05/3/1992—"The confusion of the electorate, caused by repeated (verbal) attacks to Romania's democratic bodies, that is, the Parliament and Presidency, the fact that parliamentarians of the National Salvation Front [FSN] were termed 'conservative' by FSN personalities and in FSN newspapers have endangered the FSN unity during the campaign for the passing of the Constitution and the period ahead of the February 1991 local elections," Senator Ion Solcanu, deputy chairman of the FSN Steering Committee, told a press conference organised in Bucharest by the Group for the FSN Unity, on March 5. The FSN parliamentarian opined that this was the reason why "FSN lost the local elections in Romania's big cities."

Ion Solcanu considered that the FSN platform-programme and the FSN statutes, elaborated in 1992, were "out of date," and said, in his opinion, "a new programme should be drawn up, taking into account all the new elements of interest. It is from these new data, that the Group for the FSN Unity Motion springs from, an expression of social-democratic yearnings, ruling out nondemocratic ways of leading the party."

Senator Ion Solcanu mentioned that the group he belongs to had in view to back "a balanced politician," namely Ion Iliescu, now Romania's president, but added that a final decision on the candidate would be taken by the FSN convention, which is to be held at the end of March.

It was specified that "the three motions forwarded by the three FSN factions," that are going to be submitted to the convention, should not be interpreted as "the FSN disbanding", but, on the contrary, as "unity in diversity," a democratic manner of expressing political options.

At the close of the news briefing, Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the Deputies' Assembly, read a declaration of the Group for the FSN Unity, saying that "the present FSN identity crisis has been caused by excessive centralism and theorizing, to the detriment of concrete measures, which have caused uncertainty as regards the FSN political future."

FSN Setback Blamed on 'Credibility'

AU0503140592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] The first news conference of the Group for the National Salvation Front [FSN] Unity took place in the Senate's Marble Hall this morning, with the participation of the following: University lecturer Dr. Ion Solcanu, Iasi County senator and vice president of the FSN Steering Collegium; Lawyer Petre Ninosu, Neamt County deputy and president of the Legal Discipline and Immunity Commission of the Deputies' Assembly; Dr. Alexandru Albu, University Professor at the Chair for International Economic Relations at the Economic Studies Academy and Buzau County deputy; Dr. Elena Preda, Tulcea County deputy; Engineer Alexandru Lapusan, Cluj County deputy; Lecturer Dr. Emil Stoica, Brasov County deputy, quaestor of the Deputies' Assembly; Professor Ionel Roman, Cluj County deputy and vice president of the Deputies' Assembly; and Sergiu Mac, student at the Economic Studies Institute.

Our reporter, Victor Spirache, says that at the start of the news conference Mr. Ion Solcanu presented the reporters with the preliminary data about the Group for the FSN Unity and its motion, which was registered as the first motion for the party's national convention to be held on 27-29 March 1992. In his speech, Mr. Solcanu also referred to the problem of the party's credibility and unity, which has led to the Front losing the local elections in the large cities.

FSN Unity Group Urges Restructuring

AU0703212492 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Mar 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ionel Roman, vice president of the Deputies' Assembly and member of the Group for the

National Salvation Front's Unity, by Irina Dimiu—place and date not given: "The Protagonists of Restructuring"]

[Text] On the night of 26 February, after the "Current Events" program at 2000, the news department of the Romanian Television scheduled an exciting rubric called "At the End of the Day." A group of known National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentarians appeared on the little screen, claiming to be members of the "Group for the Front's Unity." They were not very coherent in that TV appearance, and therefore we tried to obtain some clarifications on Parliament Hill and in the Modrogan Alley [FSN headquarters].

[Dimiu] Does your group's declaration refer to the post-electoral moment or to the pre-FSN Convention one?

[Roman] No, we are dealing here with a continuous activity, starting with the National Convention of March 1991, followed by the FSN Transylvanian meetings and by our group's statement on 16 December 1991, when everybody thought they were witnessing a political coup at the very top. It was nothing like that. We, the Front, had to reformulate our platform in view of our series of successes. Unfortunately, this suggestion was rejected. We asked for an extraordinary convention in January—not to accuse or exonerate anyone, but to establish the platform with which we could go before the country and the people. As a person, I like Roman [FSN National Leader Petre Roman]. But we already have had a one-man party, a one-man government, and a one-man parliament; I mean a one-man Grand National Assembly. If we start that kind of thing again, we will get nowhere...

[Dimiu] Does that mean that the press speculations were right? Do you really want Mr. Petre Roman to be removed?

[Roman] No. The Group for the FSN's Unity is what it claims to be, that is, a group for the Front's unity. I have already used a metaphor, which I believe has become rather banal of late, namely the metaphor of the flowing fountain: No matter how high the water goes up, it always comes back to the basin. We are for a civilized political dialogue and for a restructuring of the party's policy in accordance with the concrete realities prevailing in the country.

[Dimiu] Meaning...?

[Roman] We must know what stage of the reform process we are in, what the next steps are, and what the costs, risks, and benefits are. This has never been said before.

[Dimiu] Will you submit a motion at the FSN National Convention?

[Roman] Yes. This will be the first registered motion, and it represents the outcome of our Cluj team's initiative. There are many civilized people, intellectuals, and university cadres in our Cluj group. The program of the rose [the FSN emblem] and the reform program were quite realistic, but there is a need for readjustments.

[Dimiu] How do you assess the results of the local elections?

[Roman] The results are not good. The FSN lost Transylvania. We stand to lose even more, because the Democratic Convention [CD] wants to set up a Convention of Democratic Cities.

[Dimiu] Are you not guilty of local partisanship?

[Roman] No. I would give 500 commune mayors for one Cluj mayor. We lost in Cluj because we failed to consider the local opportunities. In Cluj, you cannot paste Petre Roman's picture over that of Teodor Groza [the FSN mayoral candidate]—it creates confusion. I go to Cluj with a man, not a symbol; Roman is the symbol of the FSN, but, for Cluj, Teodor Groza was a reality that had to be voted for and, indeed, it had all the right arguments in favor of being voted for. If Cluj or Transylvania are seen through a fog from Bucharest, however, this is not our fault.

[Dimiu] In your televised statement, you made a reference to stabilizing prices. What did you mean by that?

[Roman] There was no reference to stabilizing prices, but rather to controlling them and protecting the client. In this transition period we cannot do away with all controls everywhere. Did you know that the agricultural mechanization stations will only accept payment in dollars for plowing operations? Does the government, the administration, or Petre Roman know that?

[Dimiu] There are people who think that there are two trends within the Front—one pro-Roman, the other pro-Iliescu. Do you think this assessment is correct?

[Roman] The Front is not an object belonging to any given personality; it is a party. Like any other party, it must define its general political line after it has gained its due place in the political landscape. To me, the question of whether it belongs to one person or another, seems to be the wrong approach. The party can exist with both Petre Roman and Iliescu in it. If a cataclysm occurs, however, will the Front disappear with the disappearance of one or both of them? The FSN, this conglomerate, is still a state of spirit—the state of spirit of the man who believes in a better life—and a state of hope.

Article Analyzes FSN Results

AU0803163192 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 27 Feb 92 p 3

[Irinel Radulescu article: "The National Will"]

[Text] If the political options of the electorate were slightly confusing after the first round of local elections, the second round managed to clear up both the local significance and the political meaning of the ballot's results. Any analysis (if one can call it that) concentrating

solely on "lost and gained villages, towns, and greater towns" may lead to distorted results. An approach made on a regional basis seems to be a more efficient method of highlighting those critical problems of Romanian society which led to the final distribution of the political preferences.

The electoral majority obtained by the National Salvation Front [FSN] in Moldova, Wallachia and Dobrogea (where of the 24 county capitals 15 mayoral offices were gained) clearly proves the fact that this party is considered to be a product of the need for change and the only party able—and most of all, credited with the ability—to make that change and to offer true values and symbols for the entire Romanian society. Moreover, the priority this party is giving the issues of the reform and transition makes it unnecessary for the FSN to rely on nationalism to prove its legitimacy. (The high percentage of seats won in Transylvania proves this, even if mayoral positions in greater towns went to the opposition for reasons of a completely different nature.) Similarly, the fact that the FSN clearly won in traditional labor centers (the case of Galati was not a victory for the Union of the Democratic Left, but was the personal victory of an individual) not only implies that the right message was sent toward the majority social category of these towns, but also that this message was correctly understood: Solidarity with all the people of this country and a policy of realization of all available human and material assets.

What are the reasons that led to the situation in Transylvania and Banat? Being too busy with the reform and with governing, the FSN neglected its real roots and involvement in this part of the country. Its losses on the "western front" originate in the past and in the current "complexes" of the FSN. It is noteworthy that those parts of Transylvania that were affected by the Vienna Dictate—where the reminiscence of those years is still alive—have been "conquered" by the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], while the national and historical parties have been punished for their alliance with the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Of course, when going to vote, the electorate does not appraise the past, but looks forward to the future. Yet, it seems that for the time being, in Cluj, Mures, Salaj, Bihor and Baia Mare Counties the future is equivalent to the preservation of national unity. Although, as I mentioned, the FSN does not need to prove its legitimacy through nationalism, a greater involvement in the national question would have improved its image in Transylvania. The FSN's efforts to reform society at all levels—without having a more stirring and explicit "national point" in its program—proved to be insufficient for this part of the country. It might also be the price this party had to pay for its hesitation in March 1990 [during the ethnic clashes in Tirgu Mures].

In towns like Timisoara, Arad, Sibiu, Brasov and Alba Iulia—on top of the FSN's inconsistencies and slowness in transmitting its message, its inability to select suitable people, and a certain kind of groundless "shyness"—the Democratic Convention allied itself with the UDMR. This alliance favored the Democratic Convention due to the heterogeneity of the population and to the fact that the national problem has not reached critical stages in these towns of late.

In spite of all this, it is very difficult to assess who has really won and what has been gained because there was a high percentage of absenteeism, and it is still impossible to find out the exact number of votes cast separately in favor of each opposition party. One thing is clear: The results of the local elections are a success for democracy. Yet we will have to wait and see how this democracy is going to be applied. Is it going to be applied like the "Coposu law"—that is, without legality, and according to party block thinking—or is it going to be really applied, the way the FSN has been doing this, meaning to achieve reforms, a state based on rights, and a common perception of the values underlying our national interest? The real competition is yet to begin.

PSDR, PSDT, UCD Leaders Comment

AU0703190292 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 27 Feb 92 p 3

[Unattributed report on statements by Constantin Avramescu, vice president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, PSDR; Lucian Cornescu, president of the Traditional Social Democratic Party, PSDT; and Mihai Grama, president of the Christian Democratic Union, UCD, on recent local elections: "Party Leaders Comment on Local Elections"]

[Text] Mr. Constantin Avramescu, vice president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR]: There is no doubt that the results of the recent local elections are a great step forward; it is a victory of democracy, and it shows that the road toward the future is certain. One should make certain remarks, however. The clearest victory of the Democratic Convention, that is, the Front's massive loss of territory, took place precisely in the towns where the revolution was the fiercest—Timisoara and Bucuresti. From this fact one might draw the conclusion that those masses of people who overturned the old structures saw the current circles of those in power as the successors of the old structures. At the same time, one should note the disgusting propaganda made by the Front in the past week, violating the provisions of the electoral law, which prohibits such a thing. Practically not having anything positive to say, the Front resorted to dirty attacks. I am surprised by the fact that the managers of the National Salvation Front [FSN] campaign did not realize that such a campaign does not lead to the expected results and it incurs them disfavor instead. In conclusion, we look toward the future with confidence and I am convinced that the legislative elections will mark progress compared to the results obtained today.

Lucian Cornescu, president of the Traditional Social Democratic Party [PSDT]: In the big towns it is obvious

that the "key" [the emblem of the opposition Democratic Convention] has won, which means that in places where people can regularly receive the press, they had the possibility to form a political concept. The FSN has remained "number one" especially in the rural area. As far as we are concerned, the rate of 6 percent out of the number of those who had been proposed represents more than we expected. We counted on 4 percent. If I am thinking about the "big" elections, however, I cannot help asking: Why has the president of the country accepted that the presidential elections will take place after the parliamentary elections? What does this mean? Had the elections taken place simultaneously, most probably the FSN would have won a few more percent of the votes, but it is also very probable that under the current conditions the FSN might lose a few percent of the votes. I tend to believe that "a... deal has been made here. It is for you to discover between whom."

Mr. Mihai Grama, president of the Christian Democratic Union [UCD]: From the very beginning, our group supported the Democratic Convention, considering that it is our fundamental duty as citizens to militate for the elimination of the old structures and for the introduction of all aspects of democratization in Romania.

Certainly, neither we, that is the Christian Democratic Union, not the Democratic Convention, had the possibility to carry out an electoral campaign in accordance with our objectives in all localities, and in all counties respectively. One can note, however, that in those places where there were such possibilities—and I am referring mainly to Bucharest and Timisoara—the results were clearly in favor of the Democratic Convention. This proves that if people are well informed, they change their orientation and proceed categorically toward the values of democracy. I personally consider that we have gained a victory. This was a victory in the sense that there are quite a number of localities that were clearly under FSN domination. As far as I know, however, I believe that it is rather a domination of the old structures that were clinging with all their power to the seats that they occupied before. In general, I believe that this means a victory and a very important test for us. This proves that if the National Convention is known in every corner of the country—provided that we stay united—I am sure that we will win our cause, no doubt about it.

PAC Leader Interviewed

AU0903195192 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Mar 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, PAC, by Sorin Rosca-Stanescu; place and date not given: "For a Single Candidate of the Democratic Convention"]

[Text] [Rosca-Stanescu] You have initiated important negotiations on nominating a single candidate of the Democratic Convention [CD] for the upcoming presidential elections. How are they progressing? In your opinion, what will the result be?

[Manolescu] A positive result in the presidential election campaign is as important for the democratic opposition as the results of local and parliamentary elections. Unfortunately, for various reasons—some of them because of rivalry and ambitions—the Democratic Convention has not discussed the question of a presidential candidate so far. We are behind schedule. In the meantime, potential candidates of the National Salvation Front [FSN] are making frequent television appearances. One of them is the country's president and the other is the ruling party leader, who, implicitly, are making propaganda for a possible candidacy.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What made you initiate these negotiations?

[Manolescu] The letter published by ROMANIA LIBERA and signed by important Romanian public figures. And, obviously, political processes. The Civic Alliance Party [PAC] has come up with a clear response to this signal. We are interested in participating in the Democratic Convention's common lists for legislative elections, and we support a single candidacy.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Mr. President, under these conditions, I have to ask you what will happen as far as you are concerned. You were the first to announce your candidacy...

[Manolescu] The Convention will decide on the single candidate. If the Convention opts for another person, I will abide by that decision. I am ready to step down at any time for the sake of unity.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Why are these negotiations not taking place at the top level?

[Manolescu] They are being carried out at the top level even if, at this point, it is not the presidents but other people from the parties' leadership who are discussing this question. These discussions are paving the way—by identifying various points of view—for the final discussions, which will be held with Mr. Coposu, Mr. Campeanu, Mr. Cunescu, and the other leaders. It is only natural to proceed in this way as long as each of us is a potential candidate.

[Rosca-Stanescu] It is tactless to ask you who will be—in your opinion—the candidate who will be appointed. It is very important for me to hear your forecast, however: Do you think these negotiations will be successful?

[Manolescu] The experience gained in the local elections has demonstrated that the electorate is ready to go along with the Convention. It would be a great mistake to go to the presidential elections with several candidates. We must avoid this by all means, and I hope we will succeed in doing so.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What are the dangers, the traps threatening the unity of the Convention?

[Manolescu] The biggest danger would be if one or several formations within the CD would want to leave.

[Rosca-Stanescu] To touch a sore spot, I want to know your opinion on how the National Liberal Party's [PNL] centrifugal trend can be averted.

[Manolescu] The PNL leaders' situation is not a simple one. On the one hand, in some of his speeches, Mr. Radu Campeanu suggested, more or less clearly, that the PNL was at a disadvantage because of its participation in the CD. On the other hand, at this point there is great pressure on the part of the liberal electorate and even its branches in the direction of unity. Pretty soon the PNL has to decide what its plans are. We are pressed for time as it is.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Mr. Manolescu, would you briefly sum up PAC results in the local elections?

[Manolescu] Very sincerely, I want to point out that we would not have won more votes had we participated in the elections with separate lists. Within the Convention there was enough openness to attract more supporters and voters than each party would have achieved separately. In a stable democracy, the total votes a coalition receives is smaller than the votes each party can get. This is different in our case. Many undecided people voted for the Convention.

[Rosca-Stanescu] I cannot help asking a question: What mistakes, what errors has the PAC made?

[Manolescu] There are two categories: Some errors are forcibly linked to the election campaign. In the nine to 10 months we have been in existence, we have been unable to achieve a sufficient level of organization. We have had great difficulties regarding the information flow from the center to our branches and vice versa. Certainly, we can explain why. In the final analysis, however, explanations only cover up our own helplessness. Nevertheless, I want to point out that we do not have a central headquarters, and we do not have headquarters in half the counties. We have great problems with our finances. We are paying for telephone calls and faxes with our own money. The branches complain—and rightfully so—that they are not immediately informed about what has been decided by headquarters, and we are upset with some branches because they do not let us know everything they are doing.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What is the greatest failure of the election campaign?

[Manolescu] Constanta. We left the electoral campaign tactics up to the county branches, but I think we did the right thing. The branches should be very familiar with local peculiarities, and thus they should be able to correctly assess likely alliances. Unfortunately, not all branches have been able to conduct negotiations properly. The greatest mistake was made by the Constanta branch, which separated from the CD's lists of mayors. Thus, we lost. We had to change the committee immediately. We asked them to support the CD in the second polls. Only in this way were we able to win in Constanta.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Are you able, at this point, to assess PAC's position within the hierarchy of the other parties?

[Manolescu] Yes. Yesterday I received all the information from the Central Statistics Commission. What is the result? Each of the parties in the Convention has both strengths and weaknesses. One of the parties that is very well organized locally is the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party. It had the largest number of branches. The National Liberal Party and the National Salvation Front had by far the largest local support. Even in places where there were no FSN organizations; they profited from Town Halls that supported the Front. If we refer to another criterion of relations, the one between personalities, I think that PAC ranked first. Because we were able to identify respected people in various localities, we counteracted the time handicap, which we have compared with other parties that emerged earlier, and we counteracted a lesser regional development. This explains why we won the mayoral positions in such important places as Timisoara, Brasov, Sibiu, Ploiesti, Arad, and in places located in Prahova Valley.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Where do you place the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR] within this hierarchy?

[Manolescu] I think that PUNR has won less than it has proposed winning and in a very well-defined area in Transylvaniaz; the center-north-west area. It lost the south of Transylvania, the whole Carpathian arc. The Democratic Convention won all the cities from Arad, Deva and up to Brasov. Approximately half of the victories of PUNR are due to the FSN. In conclusion, I would say that there are two large groups: on the one hand the FSN and its satellite parties, and the Democratic Convention on the other. There is the third group of forces—PUNR and the Agricultural Democratic Party of Romania, which, in my view, occupy sixth to seventh place.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Mr. President, one last question: Why did the Democratic Convention not react strongly enough against the nomination of Mr. Pana as prefect of Bucharest?

[Manolescu] We did not realize what the unexpected nomination as prefect of the former mayor of Bucharest meant precisely at the moment when it became obvious that we were going to win. The confusing provisions adopted by parliament are at the root of this situation. A more decisive reaction by the Democratic Convention would have been—seen from this angle—useless and somewhat demagogic. I do not think, however, that the prefect will be able to block Mr. Crin Halaicu's actions, but, at the same time, I am not sure that the general mayor will have a completely free hand.

Institute Examines Turnout, Trends

AU1003182192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1430 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/3/1992—The vote in the local polls in Romania was strongly affected by a general climate of frustration and concern over the emergence of overwhelming, almost paralysing social issues: the shocking prices of products and services, a lower standard of living, food shortages, insecure employment, diminished legality, spiralling corruption, hesitations in the rural reform and a prevalent feeling that the situation will only get worse, shows an analysis the Romanian Opinion Polls Institute (IRSOP) conducted upon the request of the national news agency ROMPRES.

IRSOP also points to the low turnout (every third voter stayed at home) showing it was due to a provision in the election law compelling voters to cast their ballots only in the localities where they reside. The fact is underscored that turnout differed by territorial units. So, for instance, in counties with a preponderantly ethnic Hungarian population and in northern Moldova more than 70 percent of all voters came to the polls, whereas in Wallachia and Oltenia that percentage was below 65.

According to the IRSOP analysis, only 13 of the 89 political groupings that entered the elections (out of the existing 130) got more than one percent of the vote. The only parties that seemed to have had true support were those that had asserted themselves in the May 1990 elections—the National Salvation Front, the National Liberal Party, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, the Romanian Ecology Party, the Social Democrat Party of Romania, the Romanian National Unity Party, the Ecology Movement of Romania and the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania—adding to which are the Republican Party and three newly-created parties—the National Liberal Party—the young wing, the Civic Alliance Party and the Romania Mare Party. These parties snatched more than 90 percent of the vote in the local polls being followed by the independents, who got seven percent.

Analysing the shift in the balance of political forces, IRSOP shows that as to 1990 the most poignant change was the loss of absolute majority by the ruling party and the emergence as the second strongest political force (after the National Salvation Front) of the Democratic Convention, an alliance of opposition parties. The National Salvation Front lost half of its sympathisers and got only 33.6 percent of the votes cast in the local polls, while the Democratic Convention, with 24.3 percent of the vote, had a success, proving that the opposition bloc was perceived as a self-reliant political entity.

All in all, the Front ranked supreme in 28 counties, the Hungarian Democratic Union in six, the Democratic Convention in five and the Romanian National Unity Party in one county (that is, Cluj). The local polls pushed the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania and the Romanian National Unity Party onto the podium. The Agrarian Democratic Party ranks third in 18 counties in the extra-Carpathian area and the Romanian National Unity Party, that won the elections in Cluj (Transylvania's largest county), has the majority in eight counties in the north-western and central parts of the country, where the parties in the Democratic Convention and the Hungarian Democratic Union are dominant.

According to IRSOP, after the legislative elections, the tendency to migrate towards other parties was stronger in National Salvation Front electors than in the voters of the Convention, although the degree of loyalty of the supporters of the parties within the opposition cartel differs. Significantly, however, voters do not head in one direction, but migrate in all the directions of the political spectrum of Romania. People disappointed by the Front strengthen the ranks of parties outside the Democratic Convention, though the parties within the Convention did manage to attract part of the former electorate of the Front.

IRSOP also shows that the local polls also evinced the parties' rather timid tendency to strengthen their ranks in certain social milieux: the National Salvation Front in the rural area and the Democratic Convention in cities and large towns, whereas in medium- sized and small towns the balance of forces is even.

The Romanian political scene, the IRSOP analysis points out, is still at a stage where the parties are unaware of the potential of their electorate and do not boast stable voters. Consequently, movements in all directions are possible.

Democratic Reform Seen To Attract Investment

AU0803165092 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Mar 92 p 1

[Doina Coru-Chirca article: "Will the Americans Come?"]

[Excerpts] I tried to find an answer to this question during talks I had with various people in the White House and the U.S. Congress and Senate. The answer seems to lean toward "no" for the time being. At the White House, it is no secret why the U.S. vice president "did not have time" to visit Romania during his tour of Eastern Europe: The Bush Administration is not prepared to give credit to a government that is impervious to authentic democratic reforms, like the Romanian Government. The gesture of avoiding Bucharest was a message for the Iliescu regime: In order to obtain U.S. support, the Romanian Government must accelerate genuine democratic reform, not merely proceed with superficial changes that deceive no one. [passage omitted]

The only chance for the ruined economies of the countries belonging to the former communist camp is to create favorable conditions to attract Western capital,

and here the competition is very tough. [passage omitted] What those in the East fail to understand (I am not talking only about the common people, but also about leaders like Yeltsin or Gorbachev) is that it is not governments that decide where and how much one should invest, but private corporations. All that a government can do is to advise investors, through its ability to affect prevailing political conditions, which will in turn influence the economic ones. Consequently, it is not President Bush who must be convinced but the private corporations, which, as a rule, are very cautious about their money.

So, the problem is quite simple: Will Western corporations invest in a country governed by a team of former communist activists who offer no guarantees of stability and no guarantees for private property? Obviously not. [passage omitted] Today, we are in a situation whereby nobody dares to invest in Romania, all the more so because President Iliescu's statements against private property have not gone unnoticed. Likewise, the Romanian Intelligence Service's interference in large spheres of activity combined with the unleashed hysteria against foreigners have been ringing alarm bells in any Westerner's ears. [passage omitted]

A truly democratic government which respects the rules of the civilized world is our only chance. This should come to pass as soon as possible, because, two-three years from now, the West may no longer have the necessary resources to invest in Romania.

International

Peace Conference Opens in Brussels

LD0903145192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Brussels, March 9 (TANJUG)—The peace conference on Yugoslavia has started with informal talks during a working luncheon held by conference chairman Lord Carrington today. The conference plenary session has been scheduled for 3 P.M. Lord Carrington had separate meetings this morning with the five presidents of the Yugoslav republics and the Serbian foreign minister who heads the Serbian delegation in the absence of President Slobodan Milosevic who was slightly hurt in a car accident yesterday.

For the first time UN general secretary special envoy Cyrus Vance is taking part in the work of the conference.

Representatives of the Yugoslav federation have not been called to attend this session. They attended the work of the conference from September 7 to November 5 last year. At the time, the conference was interrupted because Serbia rejected a platform which de facto abolished Yugoslavia and offered the creation of six new states within the current administrative borders.

The European conference, contrary to the agreed principle of offering good services, recognized the secessionist republics of Slovenia and Croatia, while economic sanctions were introduced against Serbia because of "uncooperativeness" and they are still in effect.

In the meantime, with the efforts of the UN peace mission a ceasefire has been secured in the war-affected areas in the Republic of Croatia and the deployment of the blue helmets to Yugoslavia. In these changed circumstances it is expected that Lord Carrington will come out with a new proposal for breaking the deadlock in negotiations aimed at finding a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. It has been learned from diplomatic observer circles in Brussels that Carrington could renew a somewhat modified earlier platform based on the "2+2+2" formula. This proposal offers a solution with sovereign states and international recognition or the free association of republics with the option of a joint state by those republics which wish to remain in Yugoslavia.

Serbian Foreign Minister Speaks

LD0903173492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 9 Mar 92

["Speech by Serbian Foreign Minister (Full Text)"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Brussels, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The experience of the work so far of the conference on Yugoslavia clearly demonstrates that positive steps toward a peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the Yugoslav crisis were made only at the time when the conference observed the initial principles which the EC itself outlined in the form of good services in the efforts to seek solutions which would be equally acceptable to all the republics and nations; when there was goodwill to accept solutions; and when the awareness prevailed that an agreement was primarily a matter of concern for the republics and the nations of Yugoslavia, Vladislav Jovanovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbia, said today. Jovanovic is heading a delegation of the Republic of Serbia to a plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels on behalf of President Slobodan Milosevic who has been injured in a car accident.

In contrast, the work of the conference was interrupted, the agreement looked even more distant, clashes intensified, and new hotbeds were created every time pressure was used to impose a view, when the equality of the participants was not respected, or when views of some of the participants were supported in an obviously biased way, Jovanovic said. This occured on several occasions and especially with the introduction of economic sanctions as an instrument for imposing solutions, with the biased attitude of the arbitration commission, and with the premature recognition of individual Yugoslav republics.

In view of the above, we see the current analysis of the conference's work as an attempt to reaffirm its standing and to continue work in line with its original principles. This is all the more important since Serbia has never demanded either for itself or for the Serbian people anything more that the others nor has Serbia ever attempted to impose its views on others.

Serbia remains consistent in its efforts for a peaceful and just solution to the Yugoslav crisis which would be equally acceptable to all Yugoslav nations and will continue to take an active and constructive role in the work of the conference.

But Serbia does not accept an unequal position with other participants. We expect that sanctions against Serbia will be lifted without delay. We see sanctions as a form of pressure, irreconcilable with the EC mandate, the spirit and principles of the conference, and the UN policy and objectives regarding the Yugoslav crisis.

The EC sanctions against Serbia are a logical and political obstacle for the conference to adopt and start implementing a declaration on the abolition of mutually discriminatory measures between the Yugoslav republics, whose adoption Serbia might support. On the other hand, since several of the so-called discriminatory measures are essentially measures protecting the economy (protection against the export of inflation), Serbia is proposing that, parallel with the lifting of the EC sanctions, the following is done:

1. That all obstacles to the revival of road traffic and transit, are removed;

2. That rail traffic throughout the Yugoslav rail network, is reestablished;

3. That the interrupted links in electricity system are reestablished and that the system starts functioning;

4. That oil pipelines are reopened;

5. That conditions for a normal travel of citizens are created, especially bearing in mind the need for refugees to return;

6. That economic measures are undertaken—with EC material assistance—to resolve the economic status of refugees;

7. That legal assurance for business activities and for citizens to exercise their rights, are given at the interrepublican level and for the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

The interest of Serbia and Montenegro to remain in the common state of Yugoslavia, which was recently confirmed by their joint decision, is not taken into consideration in the same way as the interest of others who wish to leave the common state. Since it is one of equal options which is not imposed on anybody, but is only envisaged for those who wish to do so, we expect that this option be precisely defined in Article 1 and other relevant places throughout the agreement.

I hold that in this connection it is necessary to dwell on the principle of the concept of identity and continuity of a state on one side and the concept of succession on the other.

Let me remind you that as far as international law is concerned there is a fundamental difference between continuity of a state and succession.

The basic criteria for continuity and identity of a state are: considerable parts of territory which continue to exist and a considerable part of the population, an independent government, and the same structure of government acting in accordance with the constitution of the country.

The nucleus of Yugoslavia, as it is widely known, were Serbia and Montenegro which transferred their statehood into the state of Yugoslavia together with all rights and duties, international agreements, and their membership in the then international organizations. All Serbia's agreements were transferred to Yugoslavia. Therefore, in the given case, both physical or material and legal conditions have been met for identity and continuity, for Yugoslavia to continue with its uninterrupted existence. Thus, assumed position on the continuity and identity does not in any way exclude the possibility of extending international recognition of new countries in accordance with international law.

This stance likewise in no way imperils or prejudges the method and the extent of the establishment of property and material rights in the process of the division of property and rights between Yugoslavia and the new states, in accordance with the principles of registered property and rights, taxes in the acquisition of property and rights, and participation in the long-centralizd distribution of property and rights and such.

In relation to special status, I believe that with the acceptance of Mr. Vance's plan and the arrival of UN forces this status has already been, in factual terms, created as an interim solution, pending the finding of a peaceful and political solution on the basis of the relevant international legal rules. A precondition for the attainment of such a peaceful and political solution is political dialogue between the representatives of Croatia and the representatives of Serbian Krajina—on the basis both of solutions envisaged by The Hague document as well as on the basis of solutions contained in Mr. Vance's plan, statements by Mr. Butrus Ghali, and corresponding resolutions of the UN Security Council, bearing in mind that this is a matter of complementary documents which are not characterized by complete division on military questions and cease-fire issues on the one hand, and by questions of the settlement of other relations on the other.

The exacerbation of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is an example not only of injustice but of the risky nature of the policy of imposing solutions without respect for legal paths. We hope that a peaceful, equitable, and lasting solution in the case of this republic will be found in an agreement between the representatives of the three nations in the framework of the Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Such a solution ensures that the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina enjoys the recognition of all of its citizens, something which is vital for peace and stability within it. This internal recognition and consensus would—for this republic, for stability in the Yugoslav area and for the prospects of an overall political solution to the Yugoslav crisis—be much more significant than the recognition which the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina would obtain from other states.

Regarding Chapter II of the draft agreement, we—apart from the general application of regulations on a special status—have no problems with accepting and implementing all other regulations from that chapter. As far as groups or minorities living in the republics remaining in Yugoslavia as their common state, there is no need to reestablish such protection, because their rights already have been recognized and guaranteed by the existing constitution and obligations which Yugoslavia has already undertaken on the basis of international legal tools and the CSCE political documents.

Serbia remains firmly committed to peace and a principled political resolution of all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis with a maximum and equal respect for legitimate demands and aspirations of all constitutive nations and republics in Yugoslavia. In this context, Serbia is interested for the stabilization of peace, a speedy arrival and deployment of the blue helmets in areas designated to be put under their protection, and for an efficient resolution of the most pressing aspects of the Yugoslav crisis.

We are deeply convinced that the state continuity and the international, political, and legal subjectivity of Yugoslavia are secured with the decision by the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro on constitutional reorganization of Yugoslavia, and that this is a concrete contribution to the strenghtening of the stability and peace in the region. We expect from the further work of the conference to acknowledge fully this fact and we hope that this will be reflected in the shift from the hitherto negative attitude toward a federal option, Vladislav Jovanovic concluded.

Karadzic on Conference

AU0903163992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 92

[News conference by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, with domestic reporters "shortly before the end of the final plenary session" in Brussels on 9 March—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] So far, we have made new compromises, but there is one compromise beyond which we will never go: we want to have our own state. If we are losing Yugoslavia, then we would be gaining something else, [words indistinct] our own state, whether it is in a confederal relation with Bosnia or not, whether it is in Yugoslavia or not. In any case, we will not and we cannot accept any solution according to which we would be a national minority. Regardless of the guarantees, foreign guarantees that are being offered to us, it is pointed out that we are a national minority that needs protection. We are not a national minority. We do not need protection. We already have a state in Bosnia-Hercegovina that is functioning. We only need to harmonize our rights with other people's desires.

[Reporter] What kind of document is the EC offering?

[Karadzic] Fairly complex, fairly complex. Much work is being done on it.

[Reporter] Is the Lisbon agreement its base?

[Karadzic] Yes. However, we have not discussed the level of competences [words indistinct].

[Reporter] It is thought that an agreement can be reached.

[Karadzic] I believe that an agreement must be reached. There is no alternative. We must understand that those who do not want to reach an agreement must realize that Serbs will not agree to be slaves in anybody's state, that they do not want to find themselves in anybody's state. Never. We have not departed from the Lisbon document. It offers sufficient guarantees. In Lisbon we accepted the outside borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina and that Bosnia-Hercegovina be a composite state made up of (?constituent) units on the ethnic basis [words indistinct]. Everyone now is trying to achieve as much as possible.

Gligorov Briefs Carrington

AU0903220792 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] The Republican Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Macedonia tonight issued an official statement on the speech by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov at the conference in Brussels today. Branka Nanevska reports:

[Begin Nanevska recording] Macedonia has been impatiently waiting for the news from Brussels where the new round of talks of the conference on the future relations of former members of the Yugoslav federation was held under the auspices of the EC.

The republican ministry for relations with other countries has just issued a statement on what President Kiro Gligorov said at this meeting today. According to the statement, he proceeded from the position of a sovereign state that is in the process of being internationally recognized and briefed the chairman of the conference, Lord Carrington, on the difficulties which Macedonia has been experiencing because of the economic and traffic blockade from north and south.

He spoke in particular about everything the Republic of Greece, a member of the EC, has been doing concerning a ban on the transit of oil, medicines, and even foodstuffs. The purpose of this was to break the Macedonian economy, cause social unrest, and a chaos of wider proportions, which is in direct contravention with international norms of behavior.

Stressing the demand for the soonest possible recognition of Macedonia by the EC, President Gligorov urged the equal division of the property of the former Yugoslav community in six parts. Lord Carrington has promised, the statement issued by the republican ministry for foreign affairs of Macedonia tonight points out, that he will convey President Gligorov's objections to the European Twelve.

President of Gligorov and Foreign Minister Denko Maleski are expected to return late tonight.

Carrington Views Progress

LD0903203192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Brussels, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's session of the conference on Yugoslavia ended with the agreement to continue with the conference. The three working groups of the conference will shortly resume their activities and will work without interruption. This was stated tonight by Lord Carrington after the plenary session of the conference in Brussels.

He assessed the session as important, emphasizing the desire of all participants to contribute to the successful outcome of the conference. According to him, two questions dominated today's session—economic relations between the Yugoslav republics, and the question of

succession to the present Yugoslav state. Lord Carrington announced that he will shortly appoint his coordinator who will deal with the various aspects of the succession.

He also stated that he will send two of his assistants to Zagreb "to help the Croatian Government in fulfilling obligations which it has accepted regarding the protection of the rights of the national minorities."

Talks End; No Final Document

LD0903155292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Brussels, March 9 (TANJUG)—The fourth round of talks on the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held under the auspices of the European Community (E.C.) ended here today without the adoption of a final document.

The document on the internal system of Bosnia-Herzegovina was proposed by the president of the conference, Portuguese diplomat Jose Cutileiro. The leaders of the three national parties in the ruling coalition in the Republic have not reached final agreement on the document yet.

However, "considerable progress" has been made, according to Cutileiro, but many issues remain to be coordinated.

The peace conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina started on Saturday following which long and exhaustive bilateral talks were opened and lasted throughout the night. The talks will continue in Sarajevo probably next week, Cutileiro has announced. The leaders of the three constituent peoples disagree mainly about the key issue who will take over the sovereignty of [words indistinct] state.

After the second round of talks in Lisbon it was agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain within the existing borders but there is disagreement about its internal system. The Moslems favour a unitary state with a certain degree of decentralization, the Serbs are for a confederation, and the Croats for a federal status of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jovanovic Assesses Brussels Conference

AU0903204592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Statement by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Brussels on 9 March—recorded]

[Text] This jubilee session was characterized by the efforts to secure the future work of the Conference on the basis of previously achieved results that primarily relate to the UN activities.

On the other hand, the entire session demonstrated that economic problems are becoming increasingly more prominent and that in the end they will be the ones that will set the future pace of the conference's work. Most probably, they will also influence the future settlement of some of the key, open issues, for instance, whether secession or disintegration of the state will be the case in Yugoslavia, whether the reconstructed Yugoslavia, which will be represented by Serbia and Montenegro, will also be its successor, as this would facilitate the continuity of the state, or whether succession is an issue that concerns all republics. These issues are the basis of the entire problem, and they are the main obstacles that have so far been limiting the work of the conference.

I personally believe that the progress in the economic sphere—which is a result of the need, which again comes as a result of the unilateral secession and disruption in economic relations and cooperation in Yugoslavia—would help, influence and help [Jovanovic corrects himself] toward improving the overall atmosphere and increasing the understanding of basic matters that are still dividing us. This is my impression, which I believe is shared by others, especially the presidency of the conference. The continuation of the work, as Lord Carrington outlined it at his conference, will show to what extent such a prediction is correct, that is to say, substantiated.

Gligorov Returns to Skopje

LD1003104792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0816 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—All six former Yugoslav republics are legitimate heirs of Yugoslavia, but views about this differed in Brussels yesterday. This issue could be discussed afresh at the conference on Yugoslavia, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said upon his return to Skopje from Brussels.

Gligorov added that the issue of Krajina, human rights, and the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia would be in the focus of the future work of the conference on Yugoslavia.

Bulatov Views Results

LD1003050392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0211 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, March 9 (TANJUG)—Serbia's and Montenegro's delegations pointed in Brussels today at the legitimacy of demands for Yugoslavia's said two republics to benefit from Yugoslavia's continuity in their joint state, Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro's Presidency, said here this evening on return from the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels.

"The two republics' delegations also emphasized that the question of succession should be settled through a peaceful negotiating process, through a complex of questions we usually call a partition balance," Bulatovic said.

At Titograd airport, Bulatovic told the press that, once again in Brussels, secessionist stands espoused by Yugoslavia's seceding republics of Croatia and Slovenia were

expressed first, then by representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as by the Republic of Macedonia's president, according to which Yugoslavia absolutely exists no longer, so that the question of its inheritance should be settled after having it struck off the list of the existent countries. [sentence as received]

"While solving this question, great political effort should be put into this, and very open and serious political discussions as [words indistinct]," Bulatovic said.

"It should be mentioned that we concentrated particular attention on the complex of economic questions, too, and it is a sheer pleasure to come back to such main problems of life which, in any case, can bring us closer together or make us drift apart as little as possible," Montenegro's President Momir Bulatovic said.

Party Leaders On Brussels Proposal

LD1003112292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0919 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] was not in a position to sign in Brussels last night the proposed document on the internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, put forward by European Community representative Portugese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro, because of the increased powers for central authorities and some other details, SDS chairman Radovan Karadzic said upon his return to Sarajevo from the Brussels conference, which was attended by delegations of the three national communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We shall consult the Assembly and other bodies of the Serbian people, he added.

In a press statement late last night, Karadzic explained that the basic difference between his party and the Party for Democratic Action [SDA] is how they view powers of central authorities. Basically, the EC came up with a federal concept based, above all, on the national criterium and then, naturally, it took into account the economic and geographic criteria, which is always useful.

But, Karadzic said, the SDS could not accept this "because it was too removed from the basic standpoints of the SDS and the Serbian people", not just from their political proclamations but also from what the de facto situation is on the ground, where some regions are operating, where the Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina is already functioning and guaranteeing more liberty then was offered in the mentioned document, which envisages a too strong central government, unacceptable for us.

The SDA Chairman, Alija Izetbegovic, reiterating that the Bosnia- Hercegovina could not be divided on the ethnic principle, told reporters in Sarajevo that "geography (a possible partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina) was not given as an option" to the participants in the Brussels conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. (MN: Tanjug brackets and sentence) Simply, no one offered us maps of Bosnia-Hercegovina despite repeated demands, and I think that these maps would be impossible to draw up on the national basis.

Izetbegovic assessed that the proposed document contained divisions on the ethnic principle, but also national, economic, geographic, transport and other elements.

According to him, the SDS neither accepted nor rejected the proposal, because "apparently it was not authorized to endorse an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina." And for us, "it was difficult to accept the creation of regions on national basis", Izetbegovic said.

In the absence of Mate Boban (who lead the Croatian delegation), who flew from Brussels to Zagreb, Iko Stanic, a member of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] delegation, said upon his return to Sarajevo that the proposed EC document did not satisfy all demands made by his party. He also pointed out the envisaged powers for the central authorities.

"There will be time for talks and agreements", Stanic said and expressed the view that "a move forward" had been made, saying that "the HDZ option was not as one-sided as the HDZ and SDS." [sentance as received] Nikola Koljevic, a member of the SDS delegation, said that Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be recognized without the consent of the three constitutive nations. According to him, the republican Presidency is going to be abolished "as the last remnant of Bolshevik rule".

Izetbegovic Dissatisfied With EC Proposal

LD1003110292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The chairman of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] told reporters at Sarajevo airport late last night on his return from the fourth plenary session on the Brussels conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, that the latest EC proposal envisages an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina consisting of national regions.

Izetbegovic added: I am not quite satisfied with that proposal containing national criteria, and furthermore, the SDA will not be satisfied with the EC proposal. Izetbegovic stressed that Lord Carrington said explicitly that Bosnia-Hercegovina would be recognized. [passage omitted]

Federal

Acting Defense Secretary Receives UN Commander

LD0903135192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Acting Federal Defense Secretary Colonel General Blagoje Adzic and his aides met with Lieutenant Colonel General Satish

Nambiar, commander of the United Nations peacekeeping forces for Yugoslavia, and his aides in Belgrade today. It is reported that lengthy and open talks concentrated on the final preparations and some practical issues in connection with the realization of the peace plan for Yugoslavia.

During the talks, both sides noted that a high degree of mutual cooperation was achieved and that necessary preparations were finished for the the UN peace operation to start in Yugoslavia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Final Referendum Results Forwarded

LD0903132492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1151 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—According to information from municipal election commissions, out of 3,253,847 registered voters, 2,073,568 citizens—that is, 64.31 percent—voted in the referendum on the status of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 29 February and 1 March.

Our of all valid votes, 2,061,932—99.4 percent of the valid votes—voted "for" (an independent and sovereign Bosnia Herzegovina); 6,037—0.29 percent—voted "against", and 5,227 votes—0.25 percent—were invalid.

Bank Freezes Sarajevo Radio, TV Bank Account

AU0603215992 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] We were informed today by the Social Accounting Service in Novi Grad that our commercial bank has frozen the current account of Sarajevo Radio and Television because of its inability to pay foreign creditors for loans which have fallen due in the amount of about 82 million dinars. This is virtually the entire monthly earnings from radio and television licenses.

As we need almost 30 days to collect this money, the freeze on the account will continue and our daily activities will be completely paralyzed. Payment of salaries will be stopped, as well as the settlement of our responsibilities to suppliers and international organizations, expenses for travel by correspondents, payments to our associates, and so on.

We apologize to all those to whom we owe money and who we cannot repay, and ask them for their patience and understanding. We again ask those who use the radio and television programs for almost 80 hours a day [total broadcasts on all stations] without paying, and there are about 500,000, to change their attitudes, otherwise Sarajevo Radio and Television will cease to exist. This would be a unique case, where an organization of particular public interest for all citizens, peoples, and nationalities who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina could go bankrupt at the will of its users. Think about whether this is the way that we should go.

Radio, TV Announce Strike

AU0903200292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] At the proposal of the strike committee of the Radio and Television of Sarajevo, the workers of radio and television today held a meeting at which they demanded that the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina provide free and unconditional aid of 82 million dinars for the organization's accounts to be unblocked, 100 million dinars for the payment of the pay increase, 46 million dinars for bonuses, and 28 million dinars for the payment of regular incomes for February.

The assembly of workers demanded from the Workers Council of Radio and Television of Sarajevo the resignation of the management and asked it to immediately advertise vacancies in the top positions in the Radio and Television of Sarajevo. Among the demands is also the one asking the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina to help the Radio and Television of Sarajevo to lift the blockade of confiscated property, repossess its premises and assets from foreign persons, and enable workers to carry out work on the Kozara facility and the information-technical center in Banja Luka safely, independently, and without obstructions.

At today's meeting the workers of the Radio and Television of Sarajevo unanimously supported all these demands and decided to start a warning strike at 0900 tomorrow morning. The strike will last 24 hours and will amount to broadcasting news lasting only five to 10 minutes on the first program of the Radio and Television of Sarajevo.

The workers also decided to hold a general strike if all these demands were not met within these 24 hours. At the end of the meeting, the strike committee concluded that during the warning and general strike, if it takes place, the workers of Radio and Television of Sarajevo should come to their workplace and in case of some extraordinary circumstances stop the strike and resume normal programming.

National Bank Trys to Alleviate Cash Shortage

LD0503212692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina banks will today be supplied with 500 billion dinars, which, as we have learned from the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina, will be sufficient for citizens temporarily to make cash withdrawals. Of late, this has been almost impossible in most banks in Bosnia-Hercegovina due to a shortage of cash.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia provided Bosnia-Hercegovina with not only the 16.1 billion dinars envisaged for this period, but with considerably more—over 28 billion dinars, the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina reports. It is not known where this money has gone, other than the fact that all payments are made

in cash, which has considerably influenced the shortage of cash in the banks. The National Bank confirms that neither it, nor republican bodies know anything about the introduction of a Bosnia-Hercegovina currency, about which certain republican officials have made statements.

Mostar Peace Rally Draws 10,000 Citizens

LD0703090192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Mostar, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Almost 10,000 citizens of Mostar attended a peace rally at the central square in Mostar. The rally was organized by the municipal board of the Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The people attending the rally expressed loyalty to coexistence between all nationalities in freedom, equality, and democracy. They sharply condemned attempts to create national ghettos. Serbs, Muslims, and Croats can and want to live together, and are opposed to manipulations carried out by nationalists and power-hungry people, who, with their mad plans, are pushing them into a civil war, the rally participants said.

'Powerful Explosion' Causes Alarm in Mostar

LD0903225492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2236 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Mostar, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—A powerful explosion occurred in Mostar at about 2200 this evening, in an area where the partisan cenotaph is located. The blast was so powerful that it caused great alarm among the population.

At present there is no information on the precise location of the explosion and the damaged caused to the cenotaph. Members of the police and investigating organs of the Mostar security center are on the spot, but because it is dark it is not possible to make a detailed investigation before morning. Immediately after the explosion, shooting was also heard in the vicinity of the cenotaph.

Commander on 'Aggressiveness' of Paramilitary

LD0603121192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, March 5 (TANJUG)—The aggressiveness of the para-military formations in Bosnia-Hercegovina towards the army has increased with unrest the republic, as Commander of the Military Schools' Center Major-General Milos Baros said today.

At a center celebration, Baros said that the army proved during the latest unrest that it was not siding with any of the peoples but that it was "doing everything to stop all possible conflicts".

The immediate cause for the unrest which flared in Sarajevo on Sunday and spread throughout the republic, was the attack on an Serbian Orthodox wedding party in which a Serb was killed and an Serbian Orthodox priest wounded. The more profound cause of the conflict is the referendum at which the Moslems and Croats voted for Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, while the Serbs boycotted it, because they are opposed to the republic's secession from Yugoslavia.

Major Baros said that the policy of fait accompli and the spreading of false accusations were aimed at toppling the army and that there was great help from abroad. He noted that the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] was for a peaceful solution to the crisis and that it would accept "every political solution on which the political entities in Bosnia-Hercegovina agree".

The Uzice command today qualified the Croatian TV's news of a fight between JNA members in a barracks in Mostar (the Hercegovina region), in which six troops were allegedly killed, as an attempt to falsely accuse the JNA. The command completely denied the Croatian TV information.

It is true, however, that attacks on JNA members, sabotages and explosions have increased in this region, which is controlled by the Croatian Defence Alliance (HOS)—para-military formations of the neo-Fascist Croatian Party of Right. Open attacks on the army began just before the referendum—blockades were imposed first on military industry facilities near Novi Travnik and Visoki and afterwards on a military compound in Vojkovici.

The blockade was imposed by HOS members, according to the same scenario used in the breakaway Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Slovenia. They accused the JNA of being an "occupation" army and demanding that it leave Bosnia-Hercegovina.

As the Bratstvo firm of Novi Travnik (about one hundred kilometers north-west of Sarajevo) announced, 32, 44-caliber hand launchers were stolen from it during the night. Armed abductors carried away ten tons of explosives and [words indistinct] of fuse on the Visoki-Vitez road the night before last.

Several similar abductions in the same region also occurred during the war between the Slovenian and Croatian para-military formations and the JNA.

Interior Ministry on 1, 2 March Events

AU0903132592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Statement from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina]

[Text] Considering the speculation about the role of the state security service and the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina during the events of 1 and 2 March this year to the effect that they did not act

promptly and inform the appropriate state organs, we state the following for the public:

On 1 March 1992 having put people under surveillance people in Sarajevo of interest to the security service, we acquired much information on the increasing complexity of the security situation in the town and the surrounding area. After the media reports on the killing in Bascarsija, prominent extremists of Serbian nationality began to arrange specific actions—gatherings, blockades, and protests—as a response to the killing.

By 2000 on the same day, verified information had been acquired from several of the service's sources that these extremists were planning in armed groups to put a total blockade on the town from inside and out, specifying that the blockade would begin at 2300. In this respect, there were specific details of the exact blockade points, the number of armed groups, and the ways in which they would enter the town and (?liaise) and communicate among each other and with the leadership of the crisis headquarters of the Serbian Democratic Party.

Because of the urgency, the head of the state security sector of Sarajevo informed the minister of internal affairs, the assistant for the affairs and tasks of the militia, the head of the state security center of Sarajevo, and the chief duty officer in the state security headquarters of all this information at 2000. After that, considering the increasing complexity of the security situation, the head of the state security sector of Sarajevo on three occasions asked the minister for internal affairs whether, considering its importance, this information had been given to the Presidency, the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order, and the command of the Yugoslav People's Army. He was told that the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and all those who should know about this had been informed.

We mention that after receiving the information, the assistant minister for the tasks and affairs of the militia, in the presence of the chief duty officer of the state security service, phoned the president of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order and arranged that she go to the Ministry of Internal Affairs because of the complexity of the situation in order to be briefed on everything more fully. However, the president of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order did not go to the Ministry of Internal Affairs as arranged. At the same time, at the level of the state security service, the operations staff was [word indistinct] in order to begin its activities.

Government on Republic's Security Situation

LD0803084792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—Discussing the security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of a report prepared by the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina noted at today's emergency session that conflicts and agreements can be resolved only through peaceful negotiations, not through armed conflicts.

The government demands that all rash and arbitrary actions which threaten the population be avoided and that the propaganda war of rumors and disinformation be halted. The government has also charged the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs with taking the necessary measures to normalize the situation and prevent conflicts. The government appointed representatives of joint teams which will immediately go to crisis areas (Bosanski Brod, Capljina, and Travnik) to try to negotiate sensible and acceptable solutions.

A statement issued after the government session expresses the conviction that the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina will find solutions acceptable to all nations and citizens of the Republic. The government has decided to demand that an emergency session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly be convened to discuss the security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, concludes the statement signed by Information Minister Velibor Ostojic.

Croatian Party Protests Capljina Killing

AU0903134092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] The Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina has sharply protested the cruel and unlawful killing of Bozo Lasta from Capljina and the wounding of his fellow townspeople. This is yet further proof that human hatred, incarnated in the form of the Serbian and Montenegrin reservists who have arrived in Hercegovina and Bosnia to supposedly prevent interethnic conflicts, has taken one life and astounded with its cruelty all guardians and champions of cohabitation in this heated Bosnian and Hercegovina region of ours.

We are therefore asking, in the name of peace and cohabitation, for the compulsory withdrawal of reservists to the places from whence they came. They are not needed here. Let them return to their masters if they can be considered worthy of being accepted on their return. The Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina has done, is doing, and will do its utmost to preserve peace and the dignity of human life in this region despite all provocations. This is from the statement by the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Croatia

Diplomatic Ties With Spain Established

LD0903183192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Croatia and Spain signed a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level in the Croatian Embassy in Vienna today. The

communique was signed by Dr. Ivan Brnelic, Croatian ambassador to Austria, and by Miguel Angel Ochoa Brun, Spanish ambassador to Austria.

Paraga Accuses Officials of Assassinations

LD0603214292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The leader of the extreme fascist opposition Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), Ante Paraga, has accused the top Croatian officials for the assasination of members of the Party's paramilitary formations—the Croatian Liberation Forces (HOS)—in Vinkovci last week.

Paraga told a ress conference in Zagreb yesterday that the assasination "was organized by the Croatian side, among the ranks of the military and political structures."

A dynamite explosion in the Vinkovci youth centre left three dead, seven wounded, while three persons are still missing. HOS members were taking an oath in the centre at the time of the explosion. Paraga and other HSP officials were scheduled to attend the event. Paraga explained that he and the other HSP officials had not gone to Vinkovci because [word indistinct] of the top commanders at the eastern [word indistinct] battlefront warned him about an imminent [word indistinct] fierce fighting between Croatian military police and HOS members. The belgrade daily BORBA today quotes Paraga as saying that there are indications that the commander of the Vinkovci and Zupka military police, Ante Gilja, is behind the incident.

HOS chief inspector and HSP [word indistinct] advisor, Mile Dedakovic-Jastreb, denied that the explosion could have been [word indistinct] by the serbian side.

Dedakovic explained that "the Serbian side could not have smuggled a tonne of dynamite into the Vinkovci youth centre."

'Serious Supply Difficulties' in Krajina

LD0903171292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serbian Krajina has encountered serious supply difficulties, primarily in oil derivatives and certain food items, Krajina Information Minister Dusan Ecimovic told journalists after a session of the Krajina government.

The reasons for this lie in the decision of the government of the Republic of Serbia to ban exports of goods of strategic importance, but Krajina would not be affected by this if the relevant balance sheets had been compiled, and the ministries concerned must urgently do this now.

Today's session decided that the city of Zadar, which has never been a Croatian town, should become a free port. It also decided that the Yugoslav Army in Slunj with all its facilities should be handed over to the Krajina Ministry for Internal Affairs, and that refugees from the area should be allowed to return if they wish to do so.

Ecimovic reaffirmed the government stand that there can be no dual rule in Krajina, since the government set up in Borovo Selo is the sole legal and legitimate government, because it was elected by deputies from all Serbian Krajinas. In connection with this, he underlined the decision from today's session that, within the next few days, all ministers are to take over tasks and obligations from the government set up in Knin.

Admiral Jokic on Withdrawal from Dubrovnik

LD0903171992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Admiral Miodrag Jokic, commander of the Boka army naval sector, has not accepted negotiations on the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from the area of Dubrovnik, offered to him several days ago by Croatian Minister of Maritime Affairs Davorin Rudolf. In his letter to Minister Rudolf, Admiral Jokic expressed the following opinion: Until UN observers come to the area of Dubrovnik, solutions that bypass these observers should not be sought outside a general and total agreement. At the same time Admiral Jokic expressed readiness to invest his personal efforts in order to contribute to the speedy normalization of the situation in the area of Dubrovnik and to exchange views on this with Minister Rudolf as soon as possible.

Yugoslav, Croatian Navies' Future Uncertain

92BA0556A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 92 pp 26-29

[Article by Zoran Kusovac: "Trouble With the Navy"]

[Excerpts]

The Whale Is Suffering From Loss of the Sea

The remnants of Yugoslavia got a fleet without the sea, while Croatia has the sea without a fleet.

When on 10 November 1991 the first and, more or less, only ships of the Croatian navy triumphantly sailed into Split harbor, the mass of enthusiastic people of the city did not notice that the fleet was incomplete in a combat sense. Split is the city where on 6 May the definitive collapse of Yugoslavia was perhaps officially declared with demonstrations before the Military Court and the choking of a soldier in a troop carrier. The forced separation of the Yugoslav navy from Croatia left to the Yugoslav navy almost all the movable property, and to the other, most of the immovable property. Thus, what remains of Yugoslavia got a fleet without the sea, while Croatia has the sea without a fleet.

Conceived as a defense of the entire eastern Adriatic coast, the navy also distributed its bases accordingly: the main ones were in Pula, Sibenik, Split, Ploce, on the Island of Vis, and in Boka Kotor, along with a number of

smaller bases, protective sites, and fortifications throughout the Adriatic. Split, which before the war was, practically speaking, a maritime center, had a Hydrographic Institute and Naval Academy, while Zagreb became the center for the planning "brains."

The sudden collapse of the military-socialist system and the secession of Croatia left the navy with only one reliable base—Boka. The divorce as it occurred on the sea was accompanied by much less shooting than on land, for the simple reason that Croatia did not have a way (i.e., arms) to prevent the navy from pulling out all vessels and stationing them at other bases. Indeed, part of the navy still remains on the Island of Vis, but this is a special problem.

It was somewhat more difficult with the naval equipment that was on land and in the rear areas (coastal artillery, missiles, fuel, parts), because the Croatian forces tried and sometimes succeeded in blockading and/or occupying these facilities. Finally, the Yugoslav navy, nevertheless, succeeded in moving into secure bases or at least disabling most of the equipment. It is indicative that the last military facility that moved out of Croatia was the Shipping Institute in Zagreb. Although Croatia tried in every way to keep at least this institute and the Zmaj Air Force Repair Institute in Zagreb, General Raseta, nevertheless, succeeded in moving the expensive equipment to a secure site, for which military leaders will thank him very much.

The present situation is typical for the postwar period: Both sides are satisfied that things have gone well, while at the same time they are beginning to get a headache from this big profit. When they fully look at what they have got, they will have an even bigger headache.

Boka Is Like Vis

The navy has already literally inundated the Gulf of Boka Kotor, but despite existing capacities on Prevlaka, in the Cipavica inlet, in Kumbor, Morinje, and on almost the entire Lustica peninsula, the crowding is unprecedented. For now, the admirals are succeeding in improvising, but the real crowding is just ahead. Namely, Vis—and Lastovo, which is largely taken for granted and often forgotten—are only a temporary and partial solution to maintaining a good part of the fleet. These two islands are the key to the strategic defense of the central and northern Adriatic and control all the most important waterways. Precisely this strategic advantage has already brought them enough misery and trouble, since because of the increased number of military installations, they have been proclaimed off-limits to foreigners since 1976.

During the last almost 15 years in which this measure has been in effect the island has turned into a reservation for the dying, and the population, into semifree resigned old people, of whom the majority still live, even after the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] triumphed in Croatia, in the happiest years of postwar socialist development. Anyway, it is difficult to keep young people on a remote, small, and closed-off island, and when one adds to this the fact that they are deprived of the possibility for normal communication, hard currency earnings from tourists, and summer contacts with well-tanned Germans—all the allowances, benefits, and complaints from the Republic government do not help. On a wall on Vis one can still see the slogan, "Let's transform Vis into another Kronstadt," which Comrade Tito and his followers so liked.

Vis at present is a Yugoslav naval fortress, but it is a big question how long it will remain so, since this is, nevertheless, indisputably Croatian territory; there are no endangered Serbs here at all nor genocide attempts, so the sailors will have to sometime fulfill the obligation, signed before the world media, of withdrawing from Croatia. All prospects indicate that the problems of Vis will then be transferred to Boka.

The presence of such a fleet, of sailors, and of officers will disrupt many things. It is not difficult to foresee how the inhabitants of Boka and the numerous Montenegrins who have used the earthquake situation as a reason to move down to the sea, where hard currency comes into their pockets at every step, will react to the ruthless expansion of naval bases, restrictions on access to the coast, housing construction for several thousand additional officers' families, and the occupation of new complexes in the hinterlands for building barracks, storage areas, and related facilities. In the merciless fight for every tourist on the Mediterranean, the competition will underline the fact that a good part of the Montenegrin coast is becoming a large base for the armed forces, which did not achieve much of a reputation in the Yugoslav war.

Sales and Trimming

The navy has no other choice but Boka. Even if the inevitable reduction of the fleet is carried out on a scale commensurate with the length of the coast, which will remain in the hands of some kind of a "Yugoslavia," the gulf will be unnaturally overcrowded. But persuading the population of Boka is only a small part of the navy's headache. A much more serious professional job awaits the admirals.

The entire length of the coast of former Yugoslavia extends somewhat over 600 kilometers, but if the islands are figured in, the length is over 2,300 kilometers. Only about 100 kilometers of this will be left to the navy, and this is barren coasts without the natural protection of islands, and with only one operational base. One cannot count on the port of Bar, because not even the commercial part has been completed yet, and this part will be probably overcrowded in the future (unless it happens that Serbia, for some reason, penalizes Montenegro and Montenegro turns to Salonika). The complete doctrine and strategy will have to be changed which brings into question almost the entire fleet. There will emerge a surplus of at least two missile launchers of the "Rade Koncar" class, five or six torpedo boats of the "osa"

type, quite a few patrol boats, submarines, landing craft, and others. The future which the admirals intend for us will be reflected in the selection of part of the fleet to be sold, given up, or cut.

Problems will arise in regard to construction, repair, and especially sales of vessels. The former unified military ship construction could be maintained if both sides wanted this. Croatia has large capacities, the army can use to a greater degree its arsenal in Tivat, the shipyard in Bijela, and even river shipyards, but the question is who will plan all this? Both sides say they have kept the "major brains" in the Shipping Institute. In addition, the Yugoslav navy, because it has no choice, will have to make more use of the capacities in Tivat for its vessels, which will probably deprive it of the available capacities for profitable business, such as the repair of Soviet 310- and 1886-type ships and the 641-type submarine, which have been regularly repaired there since 1974.

Croatia's problem is also quite serious. Capacities and technical documentation exist, but it is necessary to find supplies for ship equipment, to integrate, build, and pay for all this. The entire process will continue for at least five years—realistically, for some 10 years—and during this time the Republic will be without any defense of its seacoast. It is not only a question of defense against war and aggression but also the much more prosaic but more frequent and realistic danger from the inability to protect fishing interests. The Adriatic is completely "fished" from the Italian side; from this [the Yugoslav] side marine life is already close to the limit of biological extermination. Aggressive Italian fishermen have too often wandered out of their own waters even when the Yugoslav naval fleet patrolled the Adriatic in a manner worthy of respect, but what will it be now when there is no one to control the area? The duties carried out by the Yugoslav navy included much that was unnoticed and prosaic but indispensable: from ecological patrol, sea rescue, to supplying remote islands under bad conditions, and transporting sick persons and pregnant women. Croatia, immediately after the new government came to power, announced the formation of a coast guard by which a system would be introduced that almost all maritime countries have, but now there is no possibility even for this.

Balance of Separation

Up to now no one has raised the question of Serbian graves in the Adriatic or historic Croatian waves. At least this fact should be used if anyone cares to overcome the Balkan mentality, to establish some bridge of Adriatic cooperation now when finally the stubborn Babic is most likely silenced. Not waiting for the famous balance of separation, about which one does not know whether it will be or when it will be, it would be entirely understandable if that one who has a surplus (the Yugoslav navy) yield something to that one who does not (Croatia), not in order to arm an enemy, but in order to preserve a common interest.

Lightly armed patrol boats that would prevent Italian fishing thefts could be used by both, because fish do not know about coastal borderlines. When the situation is normalized one day (if it is), foreign navigators will certainly not sail in the Adriatic in order to travel along the Montenegrin coast, which does not have a single island, if at the same time they cannot go also into the Croatian part of the sea. But they will not go either here or there if they are not completely sure that an organized service will quickly and safely bring them out of possible trouble. Ships sink, regardless of what flag they are sailing under or whose waters they are in. The "Sol Frajn" ferry, with which the JNA [Yugoslav Peoples Army] hauled equipment from Istria to Zelenik, was lucky that, when it began to sink, two foreign freighters came into its vicinity. Maritime laws are older and stronger than tribal intolerance. If Croatia has some coastal patrol boat or navy for the purpose of offering assistance in such cases, sailing would be safer for everyone, including the Serbs.

After all, even if we have divided ourselves, it does not mean that no one is giving birth on Ilovik, Molat, or Lastovo, or that the lighthouse keeper from Palagruz might not have a ruptured appendix.

One thing is certain, that in the thousands of cases up to now not one Yugoslav naval ship captain has asked the nationality of a sick person, nor did the family ask the origins of the captain.

Macedonia

Fourth Albanian Party Formed in Skopje

LD1003110892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0311 GMT 10 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The fourth party of the Albanian national minority in Macedonia has been set up. This is the Albanian Democratic Union-Liberal Party [Albanski Demokratski Savez-Liberalna Partija, ADS-LD]. The party—in accordance with its program orientation—will be a democratic party of citizens which will champion Macedonia as a state of equal civilian and religious rights for all its citizens.

The founding assembly, attended by 400 people, elected Becir Iseni as the party chairman, and Ajten Karkuk as the secretary. A temporary party assembly and the Skopje local board were also elected. The ADS-LP seat will be in Skopje. Three Albanian parties are active in Macedonia, two of them—the Party for Democratic Prosperity and the National Democratic Party—have their headquarters in Tetovo and have 25 deputies in the Macedonian Assembly between them.

Kosovo

Ethnic Albanians Allegedly Working on New State

AU0903180592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from the "Sunday at Ten" program]

[Text] What others in Yugoslavia are trying to achieve with arms, Albanians will achieve with a pen. Albanians do not consider this currently popular and frequently mentioned phrase a joke. That they indeed believe that the state of Kosovo and a greater Albania can be attained with a pen is confirmed by increasingly frequent referendums by Albanians in Yugoslavia. After the famous referendum on the independence of Albanian Kosovo, Macedonian Albanians also held a referendum and voted for autonomy within Macedonia.

Last week the virus of referendums also affected Bujanovac and Presevo, that is to say Albanians in the southern part of the so-called Serbia proper. Albanians in Montenegro are also rapidly preparing a referendum. All these actions are undoubtedly being planned and conducted from one center in Kosovo-Metohija.

The coordination committee of Albanian political parties discussed the political situation in the ethnic Albanian territories in Pristina last week. Ibrahim Rugova was chairing the session. At the same time, to avoid any confusion, DIELLI published an ethnic map of Albania. The accompanying commentary draws a conclusion that nothing can stop Albanians from creating a unified country, which includes the territories of the present day Albania and parts of Serbia, Greece, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The commentary stresses that these countries must voluntarily or in some other way agree to give parts of their territory to Albania and Albanians. According to this plan, Montenegro and Macedonia would be left without their capital cities, because Albanian leaders consider Skopje and Podgorica [old name for Titograd, capital city of Montenegro] their own towns, as these towns are deep inside the territory of greater Albania.

In addition to Kosovo-Metohija, Serbia should also give up Presevo, Bujanovac, Vranje, Medvedja, (?Sutin), Novi Pazar, and Sjenica. Albanian map-makers have already stripped Montenegro of Ulcinj, Bar, Plav, Beran, Rozaj, and the already-mentioned Podgorica. Greece should cede to the new state the region which the Albanians call Cameria.

That all this is not a joke, although many people are laughing, is confirmed by, above all, the activities of the Albanian lobby in the United States. A South Dakota senator, Larry Pressler, introduced a new resolution on Kosovo and Albanians in the U.S. Senate. Pressler demands that the independent state of Kosovo be recognized, that the government of the Republic of Kosovo be enabled, as stated, to enter (?its house), and peace forces that would make all this possible enagaged. Together with few more colleagues headed by Robert Dole, the same senator has sent an appeal to the UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali with the same demands.

While the U.S. senators are counting how much money they got for these service, Albanians here are offering to their compatriots in Montenegro the necessary instructions on organizing a referendum, although, to be fair, this is not necessary when it comes to Albanian referendums. Referendums are held in secret, and it is known in advance that the turnout is going to be more than 100 percent.

Albanian leaders do not want a war, and therefore, they are very patiently assembling a mosaic for their great state. The referendum held by the local Albanians in Macedonia, which the authorities do not recognize, does not mean that this republic will be split. A similar thing will happen in Montenegro. The referendum in southern Serbia did not even raise dust in the media.

Everything appears to be harmless, but the moment the Albanians take part in some conference on Yugoslavia these referendums will be used as the prinicpal proof of the need to create a great Albanian state in the Balkans. The question is whether the world and Europe will then understand why Sandzak and half of Montenegro are already included in this state. Many think that the country conceived in this way, together with Bosnia, would represent an Islamic bridge between Europe and Asia. This is confirmed by the engagement of the activists of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak in organizing the referendum of Albanians in Bujanovac and Presevo, and increasingly closer ties between Albanian separatists from Kosovo-Metohija and Islamic fundamentalists in Bosnia.

It is interesting that more and more mercenaries from Muslim countries have been arriving in this area recently. Dozens of groups consisting of citizens of Syria, Morocco, and Palestine have been uncovered in the last two months in Kosovo alone. They are trying to reach Bosnia-Hercegovina without documents. This area has obviously become the main European training camp [poligon] of Jihad. It appears that Albanians have played a main role in it.

Serbia

Police Set Up Checkpoints Outside Belgrade

LD0903120592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Since this morning vehicles and passengers have been examined—as in recent months— more thoroughly at all checkpoints on access roads to Belgrade.

According to Ministry for Internal Affairs Inspectors Mladjen Popovic and Milivoje Zivkovic, heads of security checkpoints at the Ibar highway, since this morning the number of cars has not increased above its usual level and no arms have been found with those passengers. At the Bubanj Potok checkpoint an organized group of 750 participants in the opposition rally, travelling in 16 buses, have been arriving throughout the morning from a number of towns in Serbia. There have been no problems in the course of examining the passengers, while Serbia's Ministry for Internal Affairs teams have been carrying out their duty in a very professional way. Nor has there been any increase in traffic along other acccess roads to Belgrade or any other inconvience.

Renaissance Leader Drasovic Urges General Strike

LD0903133892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, has called for a complete boycott and for the halting of work in enterprises, institutions, schools, and universities for several days.

"We shall not topple them with force. Let us turn Serbia into a country of inaction and great silence," Draskovic said at the opposition rally, adding that this is the way for those "who have been ruling Serbia for six years, to go."

Summing up "their balance," Draskovic added to his assessment about a total economic and spiritual collapse, a thesis that "the battle for a state of all Serbs has ended in the creation of a state of all communists".

Demands Presented at Rally

LD0903145792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Ivana Sutlic Peric report from Belgrade]

[Excerpts] The five key demands raised by the joint Serbian opposition are: Slobodan Milosevic's resignation—he himself says he has no intention of changing; calling of elections for the Constitutional Assembly of Serbia; the resignation of the despots and censors of Belgrade Radio and Television; equality between the Independence Trade Union and Serbia's Alliance of Independent Trade Unions as well as fundamental changes to economic and social programs, while the People's Assembly is demanded to pass a ruling on the restoration of the property and statehood of the Karadjordjevic royal family.

At about 1210, following a commemorative church service, I recognized the following as they mounted the decorated platform outside St. Sava's Cathedral: Vuk Draskovic; Dragoljub Micunovic; Dragan Veselinov; Nebojsa Popov; Negoslav Petrovic, head of the Vojvodina Reform Party; Vesna Pesic; Nikola Milosevic; the actor Ljuba Tadic; Pavle Aksentijevic, the head of the antiwar center; and Vreme journalist Stojan Cerovic. Draza Mihailovic's son is here too and many others. The place is very crowded.

Marko Jankovic is presenting the program to the crowd's sporadic chants : "Slobo-Saddam", "Slobo-Hitler", "Slobo go away", "We all want the king", and so on. [passage omitted]

At about 1215 the first speaker was greeted with rapturous and prolonged applause. Thank you very much for coming out in such force, thank you for overcoming your fear. Let us all make 9 March a happy day, Draskovic says, who adds: Our Serbia, our holy Serbia, I remember your face from last year's Freedom Square. Many of those faces are not here today. We dedicated our commemorative service to them today, Draskovic said as he started listing the names of the large number of the dead whom he used to know.

They have driven Serbia's young to war while the authorities have been claiming that Serbia is not at war. In this way the authorities have demonstrated that their Serbia only includes those who hail them. Not one single mother has heard Slobodan Milosevic's condolences. Nor has he visited one single wounded soldier in hospital, Vuk Draskovic said.

As I file this report at 1230 he is still addressing some 15,000, or perhaps even 30,000 citizens according to some estimates. No incidents have been reported as yet.

Micunovic Urges End to Presidency

LD0903150592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (Tanjug): Dragoljub Micunovic, chairman of the Democratic Party, has told the Belgrade rally that the opposition is advocating a government elected via the ballot-box, thus denying accusations made by the authorities that the opposition is trying to take over power by force.

While crowds have been chanting "elections, elections", Micunovic has urged new parliamentary elections and the formation of a constitutional assembly which would adopt a new constitution aimed at abolishing the presidential system.

Micunovic criticized the concentration of power in one person. While crowds have been chanting "we want the king", the Democratic Party leader has pointed out the need for a radical departure from the Titoist model of government, which enabled the ruling party to remain in power and even gain absolute power in spite of winning less than half of the votes. He said that the opposition is an enemy which can be tolerated as long as it toothless.

Rejecting accusations that the opposition has a mercenary force and has sold itself for a handful of dollars, he asked: "What could we sell, what military or state secret?

Even if we were hooligans and criminals, and even if wanted to sell something, we could not have done it", Micunovic has stated.

20-30,000 Estimated in Attendance

LD0903133192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—An opposition protest rally has started at the St. Sava plateau in Belgrade at noon today. Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, opened the rally.

Many reporters are saying that 20,000-30,000 people, many of whom have arrived from outside Belgrade, are attending the meeting.

Democratic Party chairman Dragoljub Micunovic was the second to address the rally.

Slovenia

Party Claims Slovenia on Brink of Collapse

LD0903210792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2009 GMT 9 Mar 92

[Text] Ljubljana, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Reform Party (SDP), an opposition party in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, today said that Slovenia was 'on the brink of economic and social collapse.'

The leadership of the SDP - former communists - believes that the collapse may be averted only if the 'Slovenian government is replaced immediately... and elections held at the earliest possible date.'

The SDP upheld demands voiced by the free trade unions of Slovenia, which have called a general strike of warning for March 18. The free trade unions, which rally more than 400 thousand members, are calling for higher wages.

The SDP leadership said that many families in Slovenia were living on a subsistence level, and that some of the children coming to pre-school institutions were undernourished.

Before seceding from Yugoslavia last year, Slovenia was the most highly developed Yugoslav republic, with the highest standard of living. The ruling Demos coalition, which was promising prosperity, is being criticized daily for the deteriorating economic situation in the republic.

Ministry Reviews Slovene Foreign Policy

92BA0579B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Romana Dobnikar-Seruga: "Getting Rid of the Burden of the SFRY and Joining Europe as Soon as Possible"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] New document on Slovene foreign policy; Dr. Rupel: the egocentric phase of foreign policy is over; in addition to the issues of state legal succession, an agreement with the EC is the most important.

Ljubljana, 21 Feb—The first versions of the Foreign Ministry's report on last year, and the starting points for the Slovene Republic's foreign policy activity following its international recognition, two fundamental and rather extensive foreign policy documents, which the deputies in the republic's Assembly are to discuss as early as 5 or 6 March, were discussed today by the members of the Council on Foreign Affairs and the Council for Foreign Economic Relations at the Foreign Ministry.

With international recognition, the egocentric phase of foreign policy is behind us, and we are now stepping unprotected into the European draft. During this period, we should ensure possibilities for Slovenia's development, for economic revival and prosperity, and for preserving the people's cultural identity, Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel stated in his address. He enumerated the most important foreign policy tasks in the coming period: concluding an agreement with the EC on associate membership, membership in the Council of Europe, the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], and the UN, multilateral security cooperation in the European area, regulating relations with the neighboring states and minority issues, settling succession issues (state legal succession to the SFRY), and several tasks in the area of foreign trade.

During the discussion, most of the members of both councils praised the quality of the materials, and added several suggestions for changes and additions:

On the Security Aspects of Foreign Policy

In Dr. Anton Bebler's opinion, they are poorly covered in the materials, since, for instance, no relationship is defined with respect to NATO, the West European Union, neutrality and nonalignment, the possibility of bilateral cooperation in this field, the blue helmets in Croatia—in short, one cannot find an answer to the question of what Slovenia's contribution to the European security system will be like. He also proposed establishing a National Security Council, which is not possible under the constitution, as Dr. Rupel explained.

On Issues of Succession and Relations With the Former Yugoslav Republics

As Dr. Danilo Turk emphasized, it is necessary to stand by our principled position on the equality of all legal successors. It is encouraging that in the United States, according to our information, there is no decisive support for the idea that Serbia and Montenegro should have priority in succession. In resolving these issues, the government has to ensure as much coordination as possible among the ministries, possibly by establishing a

separate body. Our goal is a just and reasonable resolution of the succession issues, Dr. Anton Bebler emphasized. He praised the formulation that Slovenia had to be neutral in the conflicts between Croatia and Serbia. Radko Mocivnik was only surprised that the material mentions Tanzania, for example, but Serbia's name does not appear at all. In his opinion, it is necessary to differentiate relations with new states on the territory of the former SFRY, since they will have great importance for us. The level of relations among the republics is so low that there are no possibilities for higher forms of relations, Dr. Mirjan Skrk thought. According to Dr. Tone Hrastelj, the question is whether, if we start from zero, we will achieve integration that will be something more than a free trade zone.

On Membership in the UN

It will occur; there are only certain formal obstacles. According to the most optimistic scenario, we should apply for it as early as April, after acceptance for membership in the CSCE and recognition by the United States.

On Relations With the EC

An agreement on associate membership involves the kind of model that has already been used in the cases of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. The fear that Slovenia would lose its former privileges in trade with the EC is unnecessary, since in the beginning the present asymmetry will be preserved. The main problem will be that it will be necessary to adjust to a unified market within a specified period (from seven to eight, or possibly from six to eight years). The participants in the discussion pointed out that the talks with the EC and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] have to be coordinated, and that we have to take into account the possibility that the Ec would want to conclude a "sui generis" agreement with all of the former Yugoslav republics, in which case Slovenia would lose the privileges that it has already gained (Dr. Turk). It is important that extensions of the present situation not be forced upon us; we should therefore not wait until May to start the negotiations, Bogdan Osolnik thought. It is necessary to preserve the privileges provided by the agreement between the SFRY and the EC, and to expand them further through an agreement on associate membership (Dr. Hrastelj, Dr. Marjan Svetlicic).

On Foreign Economic Relations

Demanding customers are the best basis for a sound development strategy, and consequently the idea that we could compensate for the loss of the Yugoslav markets with East European ones is dangerous and unrealistic. Europe is justifiably our first priority, but we must not be blindly infatuated with it. Diversification would also be undoubtedly useful, since the proportion of trade with the EC is already quite high. It is particularly necessary to seek relations with the world's technological leaders.

Military Training Centers To Open in April

92BA0586C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Zdenko Matoz: "New Training Centers for the Slovene Territorial Defense"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Starting in April, recruits will be trained at six training centers; after basic training, specialization in combat units; more liberal regime.

Ljubljana, 26 Feb—Slovene Territorial Defense [TO] will have six training centers for training recruits. Training centers in Ljubljana (the barracks in Polje), Vrhnika (the Ivan Cankar barracks), Postojna (the upper barracks), Kranj, Slovenska Bistrica, and Cerklje ob Krki will begin operation on 1 April.

With the establishment of these training centers, Slovene Territorial Defense will close the present center at the Sentvid barracks in Ljubljana. There has been a noncommissioned officers' school at the defense center in Igo since this January, a training center from Slovenska Bistrica is now in Pekre, and at the same time, newly hired employees will be trained there for work at the training centers.

As we were told by Milan Gorjanc, the chief of the department for training affairs at the republic Territorial Defense headquarters, each province is to have its own training center. In addition to those listed, they are planning to establish another one later on in Ptuj. He said that there would be 300-600 soldiers at each center, who would master basic military knowledge in three months, or 52 working days. After the completion of their training, the recruits will go to combat units, where they will become acquainted with special military knowledge. Each province has one combat unit, and other special units. By renovating the former barracks, they will also ensure an optimum standard, which the Yugoslav Army soldiers did not have.

Pavel Vindisar, the chief of the section for training at the training centers, says that the soldiers' sanitary standard will also be higher, since the premises will be heated, they will have hot water, there will be from 10 to 15 soldiers in the dormitories, and there will be a television for every 30 soldiers.

He said that the training centers would have a professional staff. A third of the personnel will go to the training centers from the republic headquarters, and two thirds have been newly hired. They also include those who transferred from the Yugoslav Army to the Territorial forces. Also, 50 noncommissioned officers who will complete their training at the Igo defense center in May will work at these centers. This will also be the first generation of professional noncommissioned officers from Slovene military schools.

Milan Gorjanc said that differences among the training centers had not been planned, since the soldiers would

primarily learn basic military knowledge at them, and would specialize in the combat units. The training of the soldiers will proceed according to a general program that includes professional military subjects, a general educational content, and other activities. In civic education, the soldiers will be acquainted with the history of the Slovene state, army, and culture. There will be no political indoctrination at the centers, since the parties do not have access to them, and the training program has been purged of ideological content. He added that the training centers are having minor difficulties with local authorities, who want to push the army into the woods, whereas Territorial Defense wants the soldiers to live as little isolated from the milieu as possible.

Pavle Vindisar said that many recruits wanted to remain in Territorial Defense. Also observed has been pressure from former JA [Yugoslav Army] officers who first left Slovenia with the Yugoslav Army, and later returned, but are not being hired by TO. The ones who have been hired are primarily those Slovenes who were in the JA in other regions of the former Yugoslavia, and were not able to transfer to TO in time. The increased interest in serving in TO should probably be attributed to increasingly higher unemployment, and also to the fact that young people are becoming interested in military service.

[Box, p 2]

The recruits at the training centers get up at 0530, have intensive training, some more free time, and then go to bed at 2200. The system is milder, and there is also more freedom. A third of the soldiers can go into town every Wednesday, and the soldiers can go home every third weekend. Those who remain at the centers have one day off. The soldiers go home in civilian clothing.

Compromise Privatization Model Presented

92BA0564B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 18 Feb 92 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Government Privatization Model Presented"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Feb—Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, Minister of Planning Igor Umek, and the prime minister's adviser, Dr. Boris Pleskovic, presented the government's new compromise privatization model to the public yesterday afternoon.

The new draft law on transforming the ownership of enterprises sums up the various proposals from the Slovene Assembly deputies, Deputy Prime Minister Andrej Ocvirk, Dr. Janez Drnovsek, and Dr. Jeffrey Sachs, and includes the latest solutions from the Bled meeting, Peterle stated. It also contributes several innovations, and, as Peterle stated, it is an acceptable compromise for everyone who participated in this process. The proposed law does not destroy the foundations of the first privatization plan offered by the government, but it is closer to the model offered by Dr. Mencinger and Dr. Ribnikar. The Slovene prime minister thinks that the government privatization model that has been offered will be accepted; this is in the interest of the Slovene economy and the state. It will be discussed this week at a coordination meeting among the parties, which will be convened by Dr. Dusan Plut.

The goals in privatizing Slovene enterprises, which have been offered by the new government privatization model, are: increasing enterprises' economic efficiency, developing the capital market, redistributing public property in a way that is developmentally successful and socially just, and rapidly transforming the economy into a modern social market economy.

As the basic characteristic of privatization, the government model stresses enterprises' autonomy in choosing the methods of privatization and combining them, and in carrying out privatization. The basis for carrying out installment payment privatization is the book value. The basis for additional capitalization, direct sale, and sale to foreigners is the assessed value. Employees can participate in installment payment distribution by choosing shares in their own enterprise or shares in any investment firm, Minister Igor Umek said. Installment payment distribution is based on a 90-percent discount.

Some of the enterprise shares will be received by the pension fund for providing greater social security to retirees. According to the new government privatization model, some of the enterprise shares can go into the compensation fund that pays compensation for wrongfully confiscated property. Igor Umek added that the Slovene Development Fund and the Privatization Agency supervise privatization processes and participate in them. The new privatization model anticipates that installment payment privatization by means of distribution will be carried out within five years at most.